



HANNAH ARENDT

Entre el pasado y el futuro

Ocho ejercicios sobre la reflexión política

Traducción de Ana Poljak

Ediciones Península Barcelona

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NOTA DE LA TRADUCTORA

Al citar los textos de sus comentarios, en casi todos los casos, Hannah Arendt hace paráfrasis de los originales y no de las estrictas traducciones; además, en muchas ocasiones, su interpretación de Aristóteles, Platón o Kaíka —por poner tres ejemplos cruciales— no concuerda con las que se conocen a través de las traducciones disponibles. En varias de las notas del libro se comenta este tema: por ejemplo, en la nota 3 del Prefacio y en la 5 del capítulo 7. Por consiguiente, el lector advertirá que en muchos casos la versión de las citas que se transcribe sigue la propia versión de Arendt, con el intento de no tergiversar su análisis; en algunos casos los matices son menores, pero en otros se trata de enfoques bastante distintos, por lo que parece obvio respetar la interpretación de la autora.

ANA POLJAK

Para Heinrich Iras veinticinos años. Los ensayos que se publican en este libro son versiones revisadas y ampliadas de los que aparecieron en las siguientes revistas: American Scholar, Chicago Review, Daedalus, Nomos, Partisan Review, The Review of Politics. «Verdad y política» apareció originalmente en The New Yorker. Denver Lindley tradujo del alemán «La crisis en la educación».

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PREFACIO: LA BRECHA ENTRE EL PASADO Y EL FUTURO

*Notre héritage n'ést précédé d'aucun testament» — «nuestes herencia no proviene de ningún testamento»— es, quixá, el más extraño de los aforismos extrañamente abruptos en que René Char, poeta y escritor francés, condensó la esencia de lo que cuatro años en la Resistencia llegaron a significar para toda una generación de escritores y hombres de letras europeos. La caída de Francia, para ellos un acontecimiento completamente inesperado, había vaciado el escenario político de su país de la noche a la mañana para dejarlo poblado de fantochadas de pícaros y tontos, y quienes nunca en realidad habían participado en los asuntos oficiales de la Tercera República se vieron absorbidos por la política con la fuersa del vacío. De esa manera, sin haberlo pensado antes y aun en contra de sus inclinaciones conscientes, llegaron a configurar a pesar suyo un ámbito público en el que -sin los elementos de la oficialidad y ocultos a los ojos de amigos y enemigos— se hizo, de palabra y obra, todo lo que era importante en los asuntos del país.

Aquello no duró mucho. Al cabo de unos pocos años se liberaron de lo que antes habían considerado una «carga» y volvieron a entregarse a lo que —en ese momento lo sabían— era la irrelevancia ingrávida de sus cuestiones personales, una vez más separados del «mundo de la realidad» por un épaisseur triste, la «opacidad triste» de una vida privada centrada sólo en sí misma. Aun cuando se negaban «a volver a [sus] propios comienaos, a [su] conducta más pobre», lo único que podían hacer era regresar a la antigua lucha de ideologías enfrentadas que, tras la derrota del enemigo común, nuevamente ocupaban la arena política, dividiendo a los antiguos compañeros de armas en innumerables camarillas —ni siquiera facciones— y enparties for an entitle position of a position of a formation of an expension of a second o

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te del hombre vaga en la oscundad ». Con todo la unica des enporen esacta de este predicamento se encontraria en esas paraboras de Franz Karka que lunicas en este sentido dentro de la lateratura non verdaderas Rapodolotti, acrosadas a lo targo del incidente vien como a el como rayos de luz que no obitante no alaminan la apariencia esterna aun cuando poseen el poder de los rayos. A para dejar al desnudo su estructura interna que en nuestro caso, consiste en los procesos ocultos de la mente.

La pazibota de Katha dice as-

◆ E. Tiene dos enemigos el primero se amenaza por de tras desde los origenes. El vegundo le cierra el camino hacia adeiante. Lucha con ambos. En restidad el primero le apova en su Jucha contra el segundo quiere impulsarle hacia adeiante y de la misma manera el segundo le apova en su Jucha con tra el primero le empuja hacia atras. Pero esto es solamente te orico. Porque aparte de los adversarios también existe el 77 quien conoce sus intenciones? Nempre suena que en un momento de descusdo. «para ello hace taita una noche irumagina biemente oscura— pueda escabullirse del frente de bataia si ser esesado, por su experiencia de lucha, por encima de los combatientes, como árbitro.»

El incidente que esta parabola narra y desveia en resultado dentro de la sogicia interna del arunto de los acontecamientos cuya esencia encontramos en el afornimo de Rene Char. De he cho comienza en el punto mismo en que el aforsimo que abria estas lineas deja la secuencia de acontecimientos en suspen so como si dijeramos en el aixe. La ucha de Karka comienza cuando el cumo de la acción se ha puesto en marcha y cuando se espera que el retato que era su consecuencia se complete «en un mentes que lo heredan y cuestionan». La tarca de la mente esta de entender lo que ocurrio y esta comprensión, de acuer do con Hege, esta forma en que el hombre se reconcida con la reasidad su verdadero fin es estar en par con el mando. Es problema consiste en que si a mente es incapar de dar pas e inducir a la reconcidación de animediato se ve envuelta en los conflictos que le son propios.

Sin embargo habiando en terminos históricos esta etapa

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To be moralled their with the first than the broad of Street provides as an angular tacks, which for profusion and its profusio serveres was about to remain pulsars of sources. and all or a fer paint of our are. It was not not a few presenting for any noting an are. produce of great facts a frontier way or you speciment appropriate in-Table air subter als en reagagne le squ'encemanage que pair a lattice of fethiculture of the all man project poor or in preto see in gur live ... In use etumpro o we o codes m with such on here someoness. He gap up per few on his fire of our mera an grande pur de agrun monte e introp se ples que a Mornillo gradigitativa for the state of the law documents for the satisfier de la la grandi quida deservició de las las las las deservicios de las grandis. So winner has an environmental and an arrangement for the array of the purity for Affairs gaves a de la marchail française annues que de la quincer a la reawith at give in later guar thigh fourth region has the give in the natural promise we are to a more take reach promoter que which the although page that the angle of the street of the street of en advanced into the private first given decided by the first burner is a first party of the harmon franchists, son gogs from an inter-digital property and entirely for the la great or their get a spile or expellent error of street. After m. Nicht Sypola. De gegiebe for sie ige dettels alleiere ogsån kiltigere. De

is made to give at the lets the it portures to the will be entire. Market play great to the server was a great place to the first a the the fermion's histories in the original nations which are not a flowing power by a go for some or for a series employment of the first of the compare that the first term and the state of the part of the state of give a look of the latter been any part of a start or relati was green an gape to a figure graft. It is a sound or in the have made that there we make an in the case of the sufficient of Park than after a series of the finest afternoon materials stay for a minimals from to high a contract to his not of the algorithm. existe exposes up to finally enter the enterior purchase to a software and the relational familiary in management the Millian A grantee made as a first as a set for a more or he says. , a sub or guer suprior a settle north position on the But sent it spites it its para untillage up his it disposes and the same of the same of the same of the same of the growing to the contract of the when a new effective the factors is as part of other training to the at party in a great life and great in in it will be No a risk riskles to the terminal for the second statement of the second state May the property of the second a grant term in the fact to the site in the fact that the site of female after any empty respects and a separate to Fact entry of Mr. sergerang as in all all had it is restricted in point of you had more not use to to the notice of the Parkets wer of mage of more from the call of the day of the there is no pay they get in bilinear in made or a pur ter mile on terms and a second a set on a service of terms. the design to the proof of the part of the and origin to a made, seeming the entering to give per une fir made en fir une derseen etc en un un enfant un unt en ma biern. So the sales were as the same property of the same and the same as all was as the fall on the series and appropriate for a contract to when he was the heart william of the garage and tion y de los aruntos del Estado

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At the or story is all effected to the way or or or or other or in the story of the court of

generales to mercy, to was already tel refree a seminorial semple for a period for suprimor your man ac periodic and uses to an appropriate action for an income wager or agree for god not the single configuration from forther mine for right age is destroyed the state of the constitute open and the state of the state of By these Mangrey was a value on the fire a fact to be the end as a fact that a fact the fact that th the a temperature of the same of the parties and the property of the contract for a major my incomparations, where he upgains to fact gain in proper some of merger armon for any respect for any of the good en ajour par annoquina, au su su suprama air cea, diadronal ain piaca encorr. ger has been a businessamble and set our eventuals was emperate. In its principle give from emilial and her formerlies give a paralisis percisi que querran de falar. In su sempli a fu sicilar a a combinate term for any source bud set for a fire age or to a to the een rehaal alliquate en alamaginalisien fe Mark glampilistanika de la est, resolte resume de un dequi fe frumque faid, geficajo é la authorization of the most for more required to be the est una vada de la acia a deservoir mas as lo que es sabaplició. position.

El propio Mary considerable que su asi amada un reservaune semple peride son is exiver to higue exit partie. It sus teorigio il elempromifico servicio finago i como glori delle i originari di il il tengene en niger in principale à guillantes en e vien annoués by an providing the major have paper have the press in a selection of the with a resolutionness of the state of the state of the page of the state of the first the emitted in pages on hastrographic Mary per store will eraded we as we service unherences a expense introducides per la filmentation in his stay manager of requiremental de limbs. Serar apar man continue on material artists and an extension han are medical to pay by the Later pension for in tachiness pull or of an importance of the least a financial discontinuous and of seen there there was a secret herby to gue a encionate on the printed a limit open a year largers by largers are use persists from letin importational fields. For an impact, see is automore to a more from incert general parable page perspects for much fe mindre. the the deliver provides whomas increasing our agree of special finite inadma, un ipia. Or ung awan bad san yang kati bis a da is san ing have note that appropriate by the common in node unique in as per epulsion de carecas sendencias do presente que sa norpurhan even term for e. to mai for a talk uin an an militar all enters to e mitegró.

I a period as that he black appear to rather our first period more paid that he retail on the same in large a made least once paralle a place or in thick who got due after the angelone for the security making the gold of the fire. In a specie de la generale una chia di fe su di da la giu atta arte a with gate and theps are little to give any fit and the fitter of amplication out to a figure of all the malation for all flux all be recommended to a superior of all plans the a humbers on analysman as a first during in gate the a specie on amount the or payable of a laborate the Market. Not usummer was in represented market a fer una marin a gallet agents of an artist of the property agents age afficial transport for agreement for the entropy good introduction on other conditions for the first the second for the entire of the second second second for a few longs the during series and introduces in the Maria since on our feregions on the high representative in the manufacturing as tables are suffered asserting to the second as more larger at an Book his for any finding interest in our contagings or appropriate even gette springe in dust a graph for entragement. He are a set on \$150. the company of the proof of the second for second to be a few months and the second to garante de la la partir de gente la compa. De la parquita e la compania. N Mr. amplicate 2 h frage up. 1967 Julius Phage at the relation der and value of the tip are selected for an institution of graphic and the souther earths with the first descript interstings of afficient em es unmit, la libragió a principa de las martins um laboratore de la principa de the second of a management of parties of administration of the first of the resident make in the contract of the co legiama de la filosofia - ----

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tifica del historiador y economista maduro, na se puede resoliver a traves de la hipótesia de un movamiento dissectico que necesita lo negativo o el mai para producir lo positivo o el bien.

Estas contradocuones tan fundamentales y flagrantes pocas veces se presentan en escritores de segunda anea en quienes pueden descontante. En los grandes autores nos llevan hasta el centro mamo de sus obras y son la clave mis importante para. llegar a la verdadera comprension de sus problemas y sus nuevos entenos. En Mara, como en el caso de otros grandes autores del sigio pasado una actitud en apariencia testiva, desatiante y paradouca encubre la perpiendad de tener que tratar confenómenos nuevos segun los rérmanos de una tradición de penanimento antigua, fuera de cuya estructura conceptual no se veia pomble narguna clase de persamiento. Es como si Marx, casi al modo de Kierkegaard y de Nietriche, mientras usa las berraguentin conceptinises de la tradicion, trataza desesperadamente. de pensar en contra de ella. Nuestra tradicion de pensamiento politico comenzó cuando Platón descubrió que apartarse del mundo habitosa de los asuntos humanos es algo inherente a la experiencia biosofica, terminaba ciando de ma experiencia ya no habia mai que la occucion entre pensar y obrar la cual, al pravar as pensamiento de reasidad y a fa acción de sentido, baceque ambos se vacivan carentes de agnificación.

2

La fuerza de esta tradición, su influencia en el persamiento del hombre occidental, nunca dependió de la conciencia
que el sujeto tuviera de esta. En realidad sólo dos veces en
nuestra historia enfrentamos períodos en los que los hombres
son conscientes y superconscientes del becho de la tradición e
identalican la edad con la autoridad. En primer lugar esto ocuriso cuando los romanos adoptaron el pensamiento y la cultura
clasicos griegos como sa tradición espiritua propia, y por tanto decidieron historicamente que la radición tendría ana influencia tormativa permanente sobre la civilización europea.
Antes de los romanos no se conocia el concepto de tradición,
con ellos se convirtió primero, en el hiso conductor a través del

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I st to use which he had a demonstration to be a guar and the experience to the formation that gar part is for any parties and seby reserve to a section of the part of the section of the expension part when provides the sape service where is design stage. The agree in tage we consider Middle of the second for dear of the bound of the second o a receivant for the interest of the period at the past for fire or gar our perhaps have any one on the frequency for your house are partie to the management of the experience are effective and a recip state the same parente and as are for a security pure the signi-\$3 are a face common it accepts to seek me species for pure fit are flor togger for any Compa to Street er as an anger thinks have been for as in given, for pressurance, positive, for as the state of the s where the process for over the opposite that world page to this we write for super-up on a performancial analysis of the property of the party of the format. a grant and a register to as suprairs on north to have to be supwith their first are as in the first found on these as the same than pe — a fir sque a seure respui qui rei a ristera riug ? injui que a m the which is a supplement there and an arrange of an arrange to after the second get all species in some a desired for good at the second with a district companies of appropriate articles for the first of an inthat the fire garages are present to the part to appear the Martingham and a wage of the half of the for partingenous parts of Married the Proposition in the Street Street published while the first through the day the state of the s

Property in the general description in an appropriate strategy and produced activities to respect them for the constitution in the first constitution of the constitution of 64. A salar de la capade seguido des descritos mando capade más que de la capade más que la capada que la capada más que constituir de la capada española de la capada más que la capada más que constituir de la capada española de la capada de la capada de la capada más que capada que la capada española de la capada española de la capada española de la capada de la participan in other hands on our and other section of the community the transfer of the first term of the contract with a graph of the first of th part of degree in the product of the contract of the con-Requiring and object among given size Respects to a Re- carrier de front on the first of the man first part from a service. the second section is a second to the second section of the and the following the second representation of participation of the last Park to the other lay are regarding a real part of the larger to the latter of the lay of with a laboral part of regions and burst a late up to Beautical to the age of the relation to the way to prove the among against the first the first both the between the between the ger de la fin. Augus a les de que a ferque deja sur la nova ... Anjus et le si la publica to map write to read present a read or to be a read of a read of the first or an extra real day on the last of the last of the contract of the last of the without the control of the control o In the agency to the residue. The second to the agency person of the in-His firms with mer pare their still affective size a persistance in the same was provided that the second survey or surper Selle of a per analysis of the sellenger of the selle grant the planting of dealines and the last the last two selections in the state of the s we had been an extraorial to the stages of the common terms of A MERTINE AMERICAN PLANTS TO NAME OF STREET are a some to an extent has so at goods of protection microsis. Also to the gate highly to a ser require for the format or other terms and the tigo a a comba pub sa higosa a sera a tigha pub a harbura.

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growing parties are a present from the papers or any tack as a series of the papers or any tack as a series of the papers or any tack as a series of the papers or any tack as a series of the papers of the papers

Kontanger & Maria Number for appearing his is of for their White was not great to your or it this is to up the first per ar one construction of the period but a grade period of Making the first the second of the first way for the second of the second age the wearant more ago removals all the year of manner destruction from the first term and the second property and the period of the second second terms. to the algorithm because he want that was a stagent world Physique had lift to devicated by the acting of stated and tale the appropriate and an appropriate party attack representation If his partition to be depresed in his principles of disposition. Table days to specify to be the days of a cross good to apply the registery highlages with appears for any emigration or so and in the chief of tractic body body a profit there are te propagation of the parties partie by what on the wife and the tight man to provide the first often his another state. For his paper 5, Market North And Published and Advantage And Andreas Martin that they fire a fair work of the growth of the last the facety property brogge was to the street of the property was ready to the processors of property for their more than to the part of the fireman and the state of th with a specific before the constant to be being a subtract traction Plant or make I begin in the her for your section by

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de ruinas que l'ejen de entar en condiciones de reclamar algis de autors fact apenas puede regir sus proposi invereses. Las elhes he puede ses deplocables pent implicata en el esta la gran oportuna das de mirar al pasado con opis a los que no sucurece ninguna tradicione, de un movilo directo que desde que la contigación romana se sometima la autoristad del persantiento grango había de sapares de entre los inctores y overses occidenciales.

3

Las distorisones destruc is ai de si tradicion provinceron. tridas de trombres que habian experimentado auto nuevo e cass instantaneamente, procuration superario s'esfucirlo a assevieno. La salto, de Kierlingsand, fe la duda a la tejera una invensans a una discorsion de la relacion tradicional entre razon a le hue la respuesta a la talta movierna de tel no solo en Lisos sino. tambien er la razon, que era inherente en el «de orenit», quenfanction rice, acressance con su sospecha subvacente de que aucrisis pueden no ser lo que aparentan si de que un espiritu mahave mass smammers a para sempre, podesa scultar taxer fadat encendimiento humano. Li salto, de Maria de la teoria a la accion i de la contemplacion al zabajo legis despues de que l'Inari huberte transformado la metatinos en una trometas de la binoma y bubiera convertido al alondo en el historiador a cuyamirada retrospes in a, se acaso, al fan de les pempos el samiticarlo de la conversion y del movamiento, no el deciser y la verdada le revelació por la recimo da sato, de Nierroche devde el reno trascendente no sensual de las situas y dimensiones al resit removal to a vida, su entarronismo inversidos o erranivadoración de sos valoreses como el mismo diesa fue acultima, entavo a de apartame de la tradiciona a su entro se redusc a ponerla. cubeza abaio.

Por mus, inferentes que sean estas rebeliones contra la fradisson en su intencion a contensión sus resultados senen una sensió sobtemble. Escritegased, al sus ar desa fuda a sa le sievo la duda a sa retigion e ransi semo el ataque de sa ciencia moderna contra la retigion en una sucha retigiosa intenso, de modo que desde entonces si emperiencia religiosa sincera pareció posoften unto em la remaini contre fluido i fer em la scettara fle la fera mismo de la ficulta a en el obras, fer ente cuemento, una amente prochance la gérmia una malenca fir, processo plusar la ficula de la mismo humana a la contrera de la fera de humana el presenta astrona al mos en que el her humana mas reguns mismo el her humana el processo de la processo de la processo de la completa del completa de la completa de la completa del completa de la completa del la completa de la co

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I have seemed investigate the Northwater by securiors as en que h ends a la propaga a supremplemente figilia regio, una genia p per interge outry generalisers in a general ferrors upon them to a figures outpursuamente mediun, surgidan si margange arreste a le factitermine on a gar gar a compa or fractioning out rate. Sen emiliare. Surren he no ere un tubo see une que por el mera the his of remove aut trans to suppress of not line inhorance the graph than material for him parameters for more as a compaction of the parameter. mandering a signer from of the reality spectrum for attraction planting within for you livery to make perpendic to arready part to be used district our or a crew agency or or or or only for our general electrons. de la presuga a liga rendence la fira dama el mujecto ves factor a que mondi ha gundado. E la za el fe sal apariem as have in it manufacts over having absorbing in manufactor and agoseserciago a ligida o asimplio del esercicas ente entrapor en de gran um mengru sa pasa sendas nas nom acciones de deservir em que la tradición helió su fin

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had delige the office each hand also does about the last a label gallers in goal his star principals and stary to the interest of the line. and the first court for the participant of the state of t ap disagrammen fil nije ditimateraja ita ne dityant atawa papin ap matik for many for the area in the advisor of the parties of the parties of paper a paper than common the entire reporter the agreement of the entire and agree they are strong finite of features a spill with a child of him grades. If you is received that they have manager in an interest in the re-Mrt. als Heinrig Burchegape, inthis purish in in the Spites. ter of later of the electron later to the electron of the for a relative to later. For the first of a structure is a structure of the second section of parelies using at its increase reagainst afterwhite grands a a to a serior of podram dar respuests a stryton or per me Para etta en También sabía que esta en en la las las mais have we have desired in the entire right may be able to the real parties of agents in the contraction in a country higher the in gap Resident to part or thereto any tapital every trademoral protection. Aprile the later and received a residual terminates and present up appearing manuferation to business begin up making to Mark in the to the electry with one will have to a properties of the course of \$7 age. major was what grow " to be qual fourth in Wagners in the growth gua, sortiene que la les la leu la guar le tenesa y la le late. Que by the first of the second party of the second error terretar a de la company Representative the search process of the season of the season of and the property of the second property of the species of the party of the species of the specie May a serious green up on the part of the first of the participation than politica and appropriate warm political particular against for the have not no made bright the over energy of The property or hot specific pile of an inch implement to their fractionals to expecte as their strange have in provided to be of the tip owner has an appeare to programme in the problems of the form of the second the same training and the are described to be a facilities are introduced the against large to order appropriate and output a seatoned the and the specimentary to the specimental and the state of the state of halfor vegically with our haddening gardening or or or or to link and improved major to up the growth of the first time. See the fit mint. No line i sa latina de las lies et el tentra, de la ceta las gales de galedre es Appropriate the first point and the second se with the second ger an or play all years got war in a stop en a mountaine of the grant works in the second and the following a approximately a series for the format of a given we refer to the there are a map as we as more as the ser to strappe as well go be a share or or or one to physical residence to appear manifes and the second depth arrange. Make a second of a contract option of personal areas for south the first special and the second state of the major of the fire which again you has been to adverse to be approved by the because you are to rear to go or to a state our to a supergreatest that an efficiently for a south or on the first teacher. the secondard to the spread was lightly up who the force on the upo higher. tocioles productivat.

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his wifers to be a state of the sea would be assumed to see appear of papers of the real of the first file of a particular and the same of Processing and reduced the best and the second of the seco From the draw of the country of the first state of the country of employment and administration of the property and provide the statement and The street and the part of the street of the min durates on a residual standard to a survival of more is an instruction by group the real profession where were speed upon responsible graphic testing and the selection of a particular contract of the selection of the selectio whether extend it is partie, which there was a proper of the delayer and the contract and color with things of an are the patrion of good a sold an employed the part which is a restrict portion of all my street inprovidence and the first and the second section in the second second section is a second seco the reserve of forces of they are the speed with a first operation of about all point the receive spirit rates with the responsible to the late. prouve up the water I games has be expended your fell organist a PART of the galleting and restricted and the same great parties of equitable reference part executing the special frequency and recovering parts. rec. Their gar of expects for ours my normal respon-

The States of States and Application of the States of the and pure prices to Mark relation and manufacture or as otherwise Married marries after up to be to the afterior became Major at the expedience Person of the Personal Proofs are as as of a labelle has a late of the garden the grade regulation research and an adoption of parts from the enterprise of the first from the provides to send the secretary and provides and the first the secretary to aware to be experienced again to an expense in protein Het way op their en war detect op i major op i talle it healt test han sing is printed in the comment of the second of the posterior by the secreptures from an free guarant to careat fre discrete the major place who are the training of the street wigorga et et sala. It does pik de je aku, ale etkerala e a ale THE WAY STORY OF STREET PARTY IN THE WAY WINDOW TO AND defined who it may return the element of the contract of etter 2. nga attuativati. De agos latera ago na alupatra gradi fit antiagorat e e et moments to our today at core are as from the first of Bujer make grandige of agraphic grant parties for dispersion gran with the entire on the setting of the property that it therefore they are sent. at the services of the extreme between put and other an projection. the programme of the company of the programme of the company of th

where purch much or pass purch que carech as Residuyan reduceras era sempuestra un atmosferados que los aportes a la las mass con ex-responde de la aportes parados y follamente much la entretere que respondações en la consectada que en responder outra associamente o a resolució de elementar ou aportaciones sons aportes con parados españos de tentro de la economia leto y una fe as requisidad.

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en el científicismo y en la superstición cient fica general y que nunca, a pesar de todas sas protestas en contra tuvo nada en coman con la actitad de los historiadores romanos que precorazaban une me et studio. Mientras esta norma pedia un criterio an despresso y una busqueda de la verdad sin empeno. la west trese # resenschaft, que no podia juzgar porque ya habia perdido sus normas de juscio y ya no podui buscar ja verdad porque dudaba de su existencia, imagino que podra producir resultados significativos con soto abandonar sos astimos restos de esas pormas absolutes. Calendo Nietzsche proclemo que habia descubiento evalores nuevos y mas altose fue la primera victima. de sos eruanos que el mismo habia contribuido a destruiraceptando en su forma mas nueva y mas horribie la antigua noción tradicional de medir con unidades trascendentes y por tanto. Hevando la relatividad y la posibilidad de intercambiar los valores a los mismos terras cuya dignidad absoluta habia. querido continuar el poder la vida y el amor del hombre ha-CIA SU CESSIONCIA (errena.

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La autoderrota, el resultado de los tres desables a la tradación en el sigio sus, no es más que ana, y quiza armas superfi. cial, de las cosas que tienen en comun Kierkegaard, Maza y Nietziche, Mayor importancia tiene el hecho de que cada ana de sus rebeijones parezca concentrarse en el mismo tema, mempre repetido con ca las supuestas abstracciones de la tuosotía y su concepto del hombre como un animai rationale. Kierkegaard quiere fortalecer a tos hombres concretos y sufmentes, Mara contirma que la humanidad de hombre consiste en su fuerza productiva y activa, a la que en au aspecto mas elemental fiama fuerza de trabajo. Nietziche insiste en la productividad de la vida, en la voluntad de hombre y en las ansias de poder En completa independencia matua - ninguno de ellos supo siguiera que los otros existian. Ilegan a la conclusión de que esta empresa, en terminos tradicionales, se puede bacer solo a fraves de una operación mental mejor descrita con imagenes y comparaciones, saltar, inverter y poner los conceptos del reves. Kierkegnard habia de su salto de la duda a la fe. Marxi

pone de reveu a tileget la mas homi la ull'homi si inde la trado un piatimo an Notines blombi info son le de deserbi lera vera autandi inde l'ampo de la melendaci al l'ampo de la direactio la ^bonnesi he l'imprende no biolocidati l'improportionatio un versilones verannos progocioni de l'ultra fois spinieros.

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partings for energic galage and one gapt in agreem parties as an agil it is not a I propagate from exist. In a last case of a secretary or Parada process access on an increase area of the increase in mer greiger howers a confer talk er ig wat is no be they strike to the same they begin to be driven as a prescriber to be again. We say direct greater painting the facility happy of the second over a few to the facility and and the property and the second consequences in the second contract of the second contract Burn arrange a strategy assumes and a financial and a financial Highlers haveneds, her havened southern her as agreements as a larger manner. was been compared a server or exploser participations and with your on the complete of the second and you always as found to Mingell of the manufacture of the part to be been the property of the first and has been and the source of the property of the second section of the section of the second section of the sec Microsia accidente gentra i a grafitación tempor de la lagración allera fue more place where its large winds or early and following to es as who he so obtain our corres were us who he is consequente. the province or an exactly a tree years, are particles and sele e un a ser que una e l'Indies qui maggranti aprincis. beganne un de region de son merchen, legurates, su e probuesce for any assemble was supplying to the displace of the second control of the second contr digit for a time time attended to the analysis of the safe in the factors of the company of the same and the first same and the same in moreon for up arrows in in majoration for the in one was unterminal part of gape reflection processings, amounted by a fire or sign mingrain framerica grandige dy en . In up sur de de immer La with the majority matter area to 12s few histories emergeds a Managers was to an order of our read incorporate to Philosophics on erun luid tur la gauta planta planta planta artera per la cour la the a strong part of original managers, forcer for any one yes raciones de libra per efeccione en laco un acrona de percenamiento de Planter against things he has been by specific in an interpretation fine the property beautiful to grand on a fer colors for la la diction or principe quiet personale proportion a given consideration to a stagerier on a paperior higher such a serial to New techniques. bytamicine e figured, presiding at the page square, are established

the property align fromost for secondaries perpose margo. Planto Katalan and the discount of a law of the greatest with any program of the \$1 times a party party or a retail or a layer. Man and the little of the engine parties and the electronic for many parametric or function interpret of application in the principal policy for the extraorability and part of application in the parameters of the parameters o age of grown field and all the registration for any resulting that tarrier in Page 4. Grand for the participation on an approximation of that is on graphed and any make the first there's not beginn described the street or other description of the first own to the little of the little de en la la compression de la compression della Windowski or broken by brown a surface a surface years for new and to by upon the gar interest parents of the second of the contract of the second of the se egroups on a general to prevent a sea layer's just the Player on or a sea out and and a granden. Natural transaction as with a material gar of from the watership and formal a history for any content of the property of the state of the state of the state of with a largery. With all or of principle in the monthly first or the Sent the cuttage of the comprehensive and recognitive decoration are the control of mercular encountrapping of the payment of the large fires that are beginimproved to the accordance to the Madel Course on Assessment of good failed and appear of Butter in the absolute on the

I signaturate to a colorana to transport Chiefa Nava to the graph of the first of the state of th the state of the second appropriate the second seco haden for your country over the province of the for the parties and ap dies etc. in the special agreement perspectation for visit to the terms. In has be business of the authors where absenced with the afficiently. Helpfort of Sporting arranges of appreciation are now resulted absolute the continue of th powers. In Maria his histories with major gap are employ according to alternation of the participation of the production of the producti tare elliptores and a constraint and a fee from the electric set a feeting of the later of the sector is a process of a particular basis of the Particle cap place of the etitique de Sacreta. Se prévage areas de adressa, a mandanteste Business of the above any angulary. The read which in experiently benefits an parties and est of afficiency and armagation budges afficiency exists of hosticité detroité alle le grant é discerb léteaule des to the this part with the an interpretation and I be Management of the contract of Place reporter for this places abalicher afterward. It is compared

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vuelta del revés a la tradición dentro de su propto sistema. Marx no se desembarazó de las ideas de Platón, aunque registró et oscurecimiento del cielo ciaro donde esas ideas, y también muchas otras presencias, cierta vez se hicieron visibles a los ojos de los hombres.

II EL CONCEPTO DE HISTORIA. ANTIGUO Y MODERNO

EJINTORIA Y NATUKALEZA

Emperement con Herodoto a quient aceron damo pater le torrar y que sigue mendo el padre de la historia occidentas. Estas primera frase de su obra sobre las guerras permis nos dice que el abjestivo de su estueran es preservar lo que micio por obra de los hombres, ria ya vojaziva al malhumino, para que es tiempo no lo bistraria e para otorgaz a sia hazarias gioriosas, admirables, de sos graegos y los harbaros la auritarias sufaciente que asegurase que la posteridad habria de recordarias y aus mantendria imposita esa gioria a traver de los sujos.

hato aurique nou dice mucho no nos dice a bastante Para. nonotros e univeren por la immortandad no es autri que se de por sentado y literodoto, puesto que para el si era aigo que daba poesen ado, no nos dice mucho al respecto. Nu concepción de us haren de sa hestoria - les ver les hazanes humanes de la tronaadad que se denva de lobado - estaba entazada en el concepto y experiencia que de la naturalista tenian los griegos y que abercabe rodes les coles existentes por si mismes sun article de les hombres ni de ses diones - las diviniondes la impicio no se atribuyen la creación de mundo If gue por tamo son in morrades. No es posible pasas por a solu obsidar an como de la naturaleza, mempre primentes, ademas, por ser immortales, no neceutan de recuerdo humano para su existencia posterior. Todas sas crusturas vivas incluido el hivibre, estan dentro de este reuno de la calaterica eserna y Arastoteses nos asensora esper xamente que les la medicia en que es un ser natural y pertenece a la especie humana, el hombre poure la immortaisfad, a traves de locio recurrente de la vida la naturaleza asegura el

territoria agrai de electronición encomo passo agra alcolador habitato encomo el esta passa que arra qual se en las pelebracios el las de de de fraglación en que de las laboras de esta para antidiación que exempcial del productión de las calendas por el regionario.

There is a guarante or we as entering were a more of age to Build product to an inventible or aggregate gallege for one or one NAMED AND DESCRIPTION OF STREET AND DAY OR SHOULD AND A STREET The first to be an indicated to pay at the distance of the to the first and the second of A Adultivia of Paulity and Paulity and Australia of Australia Participal graph of detailed upon the graph of the participate of the advection of the control o Marketing Agency in the public and I amb to the a fe provided for the first in the first purish with an income and an all the with latter from their extraction over their first term in the recent of the date of Market marger for a ratio or segment with lists visto station or indistingual for a period formula major and the enthroller of the sentenper part from a part of executing and the contract of a security with the service of the transfer of the service of and an extend the form of an extended a fight for the first order to be a special and harvest are consequent to a star-Mr. of each or other horns of agreement of each other a horn high man official and profe sign on mixing 60 flows over 10 det al 100 mi feature grant to settle digth on squal going for the fit is disselled. goals became one process or to be put for put to by the following and admirate their returnation by your in the abelian in the abelian partners with the registrate and appropriate the Paulitage gast the light programme defined in contrasting a springer programme of grant pair out out of their by pure the desires on the west with a transfer or execution or other type quantities. de ser make merekgate jaar fermijering, glock ferrete. De is dit sebig

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on fifter white procedurate processors as one or more more as the the college and death in the forther and distribution of a contract the distribution. get investigation of or entropy to up have one for interrupt may be have probled the about the management of a management of the sales manya humango letven parte le su coupero a a a marera per This year periginal wishes to high interiors of their specific including the second en a hann te permanen se penada en préstamo, por decir in the first of text or attractive tests for a rise and a rise of the governor perature entre una mois para forei proceser, la judatit y hat la la s reifer ihr in mehre eine beite beite beite ber geleigen gemicht in Breiferi, The results of the second of t peur firm expertes ir milemente. Sir su irmangeciam, german pendirum Strate having and hear of two as as as as a few services. I as as yet to prints of the hour explaint a quantities & me where subjects prints Senter. Se as mixima, anaporta qualque es temp de gardino es as Wanter minterer haves any puring upon force years for haven tarke service regard a leading as some a property or one r great for the magnetic and in great and apply great and apply and in a consequence and pulaben escrita.

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g musicines decreases on purious see in decision makes as exand the second of the contract of the second but for the table Participate day in Participation of the Lip Restaurant Specific Street Commission Specific American the state of the control of the state of the the first and was made by a few on as firing experience to purhad not the grant agree from the street of a which he had no or interest in the as a second that set settle agraph of the first agraph on the side grades. Finding and All and pure in get the spitchwarp or government of the inspirate of who is the production of the second of the part of The first of the first hand of the group formation in a I be an incomparing the agents of the extension through the same of some or service agents. to be a court of an in Parket a collect a terms in a more enterting of est was a great and an upon a up a facilities as do not against a sea to make the sea or notice deposit the good who he don't have the second as he seems as after the perthe for the state stop copie and the safet and other finish as as paras non necessaria de montre en la papera en la senante de entre en the term of the first of the second that the second of the to the end of the contract of the conthere was good of Talabaded by the first in the latter to the first the first total menganism term in a military and have my member on his mentioning with the A For Facult against sequence on at one or recen-

a specific or up on the specific property of the second of the promake tradition of the last of the last portion of the pure transfer of the the man of the particular confidence and the particle of the particle of the state of the problem of the state of the feel of the great from the property of the pro so as more high remove doubt in the employee in a state of the employee and the employee an to be about it indicates the action of the first making at a law ages. In the de motion where a fer process, uncorate Programme from the second control of the sec grown in heart with a to set of against the a darpe maps contrasted way and the most age at the first for the first street age installed applied grad of \$6 has man other sign ordinate state to grad over \$6. gard found I have have the attention for announced under under pour first interest about the and the later galaxy the doct white relating alleges for it least it is the trafor an in the pure designed when the first the art of the same of The state of the s Principal transfer on the same of the contract of the contract

Así, habiando esquemáticamente la Antiguedad griega clasica consideró que la forma mas elevada de vida humana era la que se vivia en la pótis y que la capacidad humana suprema era el tenguaje (soov moderneos y (soov degov segun la famosa doble defunción de Aristóteles. Roma y la fuosotia medieval definieron la hombre como el ammal rationale en las etapas iniciales de la época moderna se pensó que el hombre era sobre todo, homo taber hasta que en el siglo xix, se interpretó que el hombre es un ammal laborant, cuyo metabolismo con la naturaleza podía rendir la productividad mas alta de la que es capaz la vida humana. Con los antecedentes de estas definiciones esquematicas, restataria adecuado que el mundo en que estamos viviendo detiniera al hombre como un ser capaz de acción, porque esta capacidad se convirtió, al parecer en el centro de todas as otras capacidades humanas.

Esta tuera de duda que la capacidad de actuar es la más pelligrosa de todas las habilidades y posibilidades humanas, y también está fuera de duda que los nesgos creados por el hombre a los que la humanidad se entrenta hoy munca se entrentaron antes. Consideraciones como éstas no pretenden dar soluciones na consejo. En el mejor de los casos, podrian estimular una reflexión continua y estricta sobre la naturaleza y las posibilidades intrinsecas de la acción, que munca antes reveió su grandeza y su peligrosidad tan abiertamente.

2 HISTORIA E INMORTALIDAD TERRENA

El concepto moderno de proceso, que penetra por igual la historia y la naturaleza, separa la época moderna del pasado con mayor protundidad que cualquier otra idea por si sola. Para nuestro modo de pensar moderno, nada es significativo en y por si mismo ni siquiera la historia o la naturaleza tomadas rada una como un todo y tampoco io son los sucesos par ticulares en el campo físico ni los hechos históricos específicos. Hay una monstruosidad faca, en este estado de cosas. Los procesos invisibles han invadido todas las cosas concretas, toda entidad individuaj que sea visible para nosotros, reduciêndosas

a function rate for an processing grown as an executive for for every grown as an executive security and a secundary and a sec

tion finally regular following on the or agriculture in the conthe minighteness of the grant for freely using a sergial every interesting with to be well be for your witch in an area to the warrant for activity up to more than usual straightness of the European Co. Mus. grade the second of the second the property of the first and altered to be the first and first and first his hazana ili occiolmento in mini a militari si militari la made to purpose to the or through distance of the first the appeting with respecting and less on their general recommunity all formed in a city is decision. So it is the city life thempt a cap tail. upon the transfer for the low rate on the transfer up any manners or experthe second that afficient to the stage of the perfect to the in a secretar control to the control of the control previous maps mensor to become autopur auto upital site as wer as more more over a few margins, as a firming of pile agreement before the and moreon for the entire on a large the the excepts which were the times or a more than the conthe extension of many to blink their process with the first continue Affred to Tro B a since specified groups to the Model Control of patricipal e e for let at an una membranda fe e l'en et gill gille. go garantee não monta militar de laborar a sportage has rea in combo for gar gong mag garben the thinks at period a sign which to be for the form to be an appearable grapher in the fifth the property of the country Report a service response on appropriate participation and appropriate conwas for an armount for Prince and Principle agreement and relation \$ 2 a for entry high purchase a greater are the party for the a frequency of the contract of the table of ta the wind of an artist of any say in the first in the

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I will be a standard from the same for the same at the gas of the same at the same Property and the state of the second state of warrang a region of history and washing the strategy on the screen on a first things on the scan in tions per magain waters to address on an in the material which is an age if an early are the gut on a seand the second 1.7 A secretary of the second second second second Advantures and Congress to a Page Angles of March the contract of the contract to the party of the contract to was been a did in your or game to see he as the to the second control of the control have a solution this way in the contract of the second colors. From the second floor to the second section of the advances with the second of the first plant than the speciment with the second the street part of which adopting the party of the windows of the latest an market surprisely our first and a series of the Principal area in the principle of the principle in and he made to appear a sort of the property of a state of a to the first and the residence approximation of the last the gast of the same and the same of the same and any desiring the little opposite the second or second or second Marketing from White or the way for many the party of Make the second to the first and the second and the second as the appear who to be a proof of the proof of a top a pick we want to be an experience of the first series on the second WARRY ARTHURST

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arm on tax represupationers for he Bose Amographed acres a for person for the same for a front and improve print and their strength on the her an grade a timper space is a proper section of bank of quire project figures in an influence an engine uses a river pagaman in ben'es wronger tengg presenters ago in urago in a galactive et insaper minimo es en su egalua sas que nonque conseni palaba acepat part e absorber la grantes unos de sa loda o mover e de l'intiprefere a set a se transcription of programmer in particular read in all the St. a thoughther is the think of the house a think in a in experience which has experienced about the good Agrowing for a symbol of analog union to extend the for your sound and among those The makes and parameter and for the of as every assumer any premi de la hist ella bomana, signific a cre tischet pi e de la k aid it umpu en e. u u år amitt aufu? e rena Aguir n the fire sounce of the will have determined the property of the para has a sere amore a se vigere mounts. It same to be the fir gar of periodicinal fir to have due to any garde on of penning mineral vesion agrees de Agrier et envir a que have en el buildat de su visgen uni per a tras que proque en estrator de la Le date in many a survivation that the many parties in the first in regulation a go for fit wong for a sport four war upon to a paper exception. produces and retail up yours from a figure to be selected give forms. So a refusar rise contract car unstates as time to while in the dust handling as inter-interest. The supported into year go the ne force one increation is gone pare in himber by alla the inverse end is given summanished viscous end by the given to be same note that the same of a series for the manufacturers gather Milit want encap and burns it may dure the suns which can be much with a period with use exist factors en apdate with the later streams for the stream to be

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gradure has service hopey on in the security part many any service. entiple or arbits in noting wants a cities and a last to read an the a three lightly are put at superior in destroys as it. I so little de transfer and regardless and professional first appropriate following Francisco de cere da Paraceles en un aprincipario de la desenta de familia y many har ha yant a sola ay angayna dit magnatay yangsag ana anna ag Next strick 2 data on recovery with rates on stropes is sugnificawar for a series shifter proceed as any country the integer of the grant for again at graph and the experience was not prove from engages or the month. Just up to and year it stigmed over the disquestible received the first sites. the resource of the property o the content part parties of the markets and an in the one things of the part, or page that hat ago, agos subsides the groups between Laborate Bit recent on event in linearity. The laborate experts on the laborate by e. e. returned particularly de star format in el en un de la fate descrip electric ap Black providence or relating to the first of the first of a spring planty. great the legiting the constraint without without on the contract that is Appear to real or the conference was expended paging and contemporal or research for Fixther in the pure party remains as as how may not harving a first to the add a combinate it and the et a demand of ages to filmers obtains and death is to previous a good from specific for Magazine to that is the real case the great has the upper region is a restrict.

The property of the real state of the section of the I what are a first and the first are the first for the first grant materials are made for an includence direct materials. The For Broad agent if it is the in the case of the contract of th se has war are surger used for all in Mr. in command a there is a long or to decirely later it want for a first to a For the second s apro 5 frage and the set of a major of setting a first tent major absorbed. Sereserves repetition and up to Mr. I want got Mr. d. 1996. Month during our persistent in your after anyone or a stop And the second of the property of the second of the first of the second I specified an extent the partie have not sea an established at the sec-Figure again the annual above and an appropriate for any and a while 5 is a state of the state of the state of therefore product contribute which is good. Popular of the later has all the party of the p with large mater or thefreig. He was a few stageing of the fillianum of a fetos para fili latar la figuisión esacta de les has en la historia antigua son has er referencia a una musicio. De Sistimas bucmas de labilitar es armpo. En episcas mais recientes. Ellege uniquo una anteriorezación que se en el labrema musbreno, de datación una ser jadera in musicipa institues porque en la actuacidad el nacio miento de la lacolida mojo das

Numerone de estas exposicaciones es sacial actoris. Las reforman it was very as on large enough in an providing in his last weigh en el pasarón sen que se las acepeara en la vista franta plen sa Militaria alia Sinta primi de Minerachi an Sinti. Appeadorate de de garante d s no se correspondent on nongue ambie tourse among leencept. Se semps ha nuest sustema a destroy ex exque et nacionalne de moi se sea alicea, seu el punec de referenas to a historia for muncle prorque so ha reconculate come as t ivin gran furrag have varies survivision mingun ethics, samuar police covere in monography for two insight above por prime. ra vez sa hasi esa se sa homano active se ve e un pasado into nut all que podemin haver apadetica a visuaria. En el que pofermining un niversigen. I se punise pri sie sa hai ja len funuro. policies. Esta infligit at distinction made in deduction images to too are not somes the promition in the law point is a humanic said. en una pieremille, immiliata de l'estena el que a primera vista permit une restance con de la homese de mondo en ces y ted. chiming for a him was an user inter-as especulaciones religiosas withing of semigro. In suppose a selection was serviced services on unprivate que la comine pelhi pio la inici que ni nin permite austremega expendigate de maigra augus de Na fa paix aus ses mas ajeni a previamienti. Sistuami que ese incepti de u a menistra lidad terrena de la humanidad

Fig. an impair if the new con-the histories on an inner smith of the epichal mentions are present the matter as an example of the matter as th

prompt homographic and more intelligent on the propagation of the space ligens self up use specie desident plenstegemente purque nengung pressure in his one of their strangerments have be taken to expend a gue purpe in are taid. Lensing the Linguistic out of verification for y or winds a securing on or by specific area. Companies of State her may be with a serial property flust with this before the period. present retrieva hear agons, no l'agrieron de las humans. factories and assister matter on a misma son mach. It is historia y para tana tena terantenena di consulta de las resteuro como encurremento de us Antique usido concernidos en exocos gramming that have been employed in a sone long an armala. Men neval are numerances in historian him by all exercise para ratrans in a hear-year as were faild surviving governments of nevers a way god. business from per lie to be previously due this verified or maprophesis on one little Papers is there a digram south in the the warming the grant of their stag mesons are up that in the wife also humano en un egovato e par paratro como Florenter 2

a promission for the community resistance per up instance has been been all period in recognisis entre is \$ 1617 Me fig a 18 exists musterns. se mesujtack de guern, ienienas de esta que antes se chenta. from where a se wege a remineral hairs of singless married to be 1 to 1 Min the Electron constitution on une improve \$6.5 generalizações a parigir de su air mais a serie uma beserie. tally yers as today for money as been has during payon one within the entering for insupply the large on age of other and part entering on larger for primary as a larger of the manager of grain per of normal for innonger of decrease regimentation. We do not not have be given where an extragal bratism on the epreparate man upper el por mon. Se la agra paga si el estagine i um seno torer it un murch, committeer you, are mengel in our se situated but the many he care intercements from all an the production in the emblying one in project to congrue word a transformation fulling for late group sign magnings to How minerally on height to his continuous introduction in the production of the are open property and harrist partitions for the advantage on company per plan. After that are married with tags for a semi-armeter in the pergrave for resignate a particular all a less legales a president exercises. If the reports I incliencers, if much just note partie more manual produkti que esa carabiermación gradius. Se saci aregolicas cesagroups on interprese and another trees provide attraction for a stage. In the foresteen to be a sentenced to be a sentenced to be desired to be a sentenced to be a sentenced

Note that the period part will adjust up to the property framework and her her grant on your fit the high error of settings, hast was a larger to grant on the as many introduction for any understands for the service of the first of any fat of the first of the growth can are no a surely to be the terminal to the terminal do not be for the sign of the Market of the second of the I a Message & he have just of more a graphic control Labrage Contracts a page qualitar relationship in relationship to the sales on the gr with goal bring sections she has also appropriate rings required. It has green and the law open temporal part, in their extremental constitution, and process for er has again to gur is agreed of the buildings of collegents The section of the first party of the property of the first party and the first party the property of the second section of the second section of the second section of the second section s who are it is again to graph or or sub-ord up magnific an adthere is not regularly without per the sit of Puris as the Minister of the a de sin aguerann manga in le monté du rapion in la lice es just the art of the absolute out of an order words past in a . I hadden the For an har a referre western page for a series south After a 54 engines a la entre resigning parties a consense the Print and appropriate to the pagings of a real following can. water our cold water many yet retrieved with many yet processor on a security of specifically services of one of Balance Parameters and read the large persons of the analysis the experience of the same of end the bone of the second of the second paragraph a habita larger. On to historic hards be paragraphical remender to the query research of the contribution of period of the contribution of th

Different service and it general your sale connect upon an impaintment On its space but the sample will use on a night a minimum or use a record to the protect analysis professional and successive services. which to alma may importance out, a results out to jury per part lie em prison and the foreign and women it are from again deale will generalise you is printerable received windows a sinwer give lang west made emilig allatigma og presentigap. De og engwedeningsa piere. It mak ne ur indiese yur en pe kluyerer una eri usakurakura fe se promise on un manage alse in just la mutica as it all ne umo on promise man dur ourse marke as smiller and for an adress, being non que la aria de desgrapara la que en requiso, au esta har que el problema de la polé « o recugero ogue un angue en un se gro ve a fections page at expressing follow hometimes a self-habity as tack thick is Annual to but pure our me often menual in in one imprenium estru prience suciono fria se usos fines pora his graigen into para une i inspirent a prince de la las cas del erem. the professional parties and a series of the sector humana in superior of appoints more as in homber oughts. Furth transfer in her him transfer in frames to produce posters and wife de la matière du le 6 mais le 14 supportes gener toute le mangages en des se Experience and we wrom to the version authorizant, given a till intereste in the fightule prinque en ningun on to be brief him on has bein fieta un a ausa de la mai um que el prenignicenti george. grama la filtre finale la enfera de la lista pervada, livra altre e balla. white the days will be presented by the an experience by the sense. For at papers for propers the visital the latter as quality watering quar-

tion with somethy parties with secure forfers and can be useful. In arthur to pure a new control of the control of t pp harper op into Lago Lago and the lago to the lago that a finite point of the first that the lago. I produce paper the point had put to be to be been before appropriately and the second of the first and populates about the Paper Paper describes on it while gift after any transferrings of the form of the property of the pro gas a stigent the experience of agreement the property of the property and the first to shall defend up to a way, and a probability of the same for all with the control of the spirit agree of the spirit agree that the part of the spirit agree of The skin of the first of the spirit of the s And the contract of or first in amount over their extremental years. drift to the committee of the graph of the state of the first terms. Site part of special program who strains stage of the state of all its appropriate you be made to theory and a pay to the fee your th Place a new paper when the period the global temperature to the temperature of the period that the temperature to the period that the temperature to the period to the period that the temperature to the period to the period that the temperature to the period to the per And greated state for an extension process where the service states

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Frage distriction for an auto-districting an existing or term of all the the representation and the second of the we note that the second of the second of the second of the second of As the transfer of the party of Andre up an electric training of agreements. An acres from product the magina de latera esta april en la latera de partiras importes entre a depercention of the annual of the paper of the gram process to appear the an estimate of the section to the same of the same of the same of the same of Apparation to the section of the company of the section of the sec he are a fire paragraphy formula member par engla As a control or large to the great or the control of the control o to recombine our or in a country or area or these or be sugh permanent of the Agrander's serbala in a grant original area in I make a stranger of the control table in the first State of the stranger one Bright for many company for their decision, in the Paradoptic for the I have dright control there is not usually arm to be upon the control Market a second contribution of a second contribution for the contribution of Management a line of the state of a superior street. For a large branch or whose the large of the same of the Ser an early the management account to the for the gave are a soften most conspice, as some harmonic property in the the same of the party of the party of the same of Consequences of the dark from a surger or to the first open which is a reasonable a figure of the second of the \$ 100 dres overgot to a how any the model to be up, and pay of many street and harby the argue a new memory. The or otherwise have give your previous residences in motion to letapproximate a solution of the second of the who effects as a few few and the area areas and a second and the s and the services and an area of the second services for the conference on the contract of age of the contract of the contract of minutes at the strong of a halor my of our bid. gar or on communication on the contract of the to a figure out the complete party to the third that it The product of the control of the control of the control of the control of was to be a strong of the same of the factor of the But he gar any this election or as above or the notice regard entailer in

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A required compression to approximation to adopt sen i traccionen humanisti no con grat i traccio della para e conagement to some in man the person has been all a benthe growth the same at the experience for a process and a proper public for some go to the of the work to the a strained who can a remain strained at there is an embergine that the a will be being not remain you for an recognist and appropriation for recognise a given may may refer to gave presgate in your per agent was perfecting the manager. In your manager a new a to to a so so so we are not also due to death e gets sermony to homber a error to 66 or ton a long to lines. the security or page together the street will be got been a second in the same of the court of the contraction of the same have free frenches and a sector of simple or or mission sang king major air haif kan is unito moor gains. No ann not current augs more describerment from A squested to pur comprise his The rettle on its part, 64 Facts on grantage is a streeting and letter in a haptigge are administration than the proper gette ago, and engage and for the greatest FETT A 494 TO US FOR THE STATE OF STATE OF STATE OF THE STATE OF THE STATE OF permitted gur to a series humanum milledgen action properties 6. Se grupe S. in expension, a group. Homography to security or se et ague entres de gue et mi ubi ens mai permanente que wife feienber. fe gur ige est im aret jein nicht erer, bie getab. · It is supervivencial error in the amount. It much que in dertagning og spiller som de speller i blig etter de eller meget meget men i med eller enmontación d'ausor hann sa leda viene el mundo en habian viena. El permior del lo microdes d'issea.

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No the general graph party agency and discourse ages now agrandament. from the war to store the up a necessar was no memory, by or taken to an promor a ellas a sa ciella llas miurolis, en el cini que ulha recreçació temocrapasi um ac sistant fe hombres mos ques in a puefor tenner agrees have no have garanting to enda on or make a fight discapled an electroliment he in letter bei im hing existencia. weregive due course and sent to the a conjugate was too se animos a ladge. It is got on the later for you have juried for up that he is the re ser upe de permanencia furadora la rivis a misbrina descuhere as immore units, potentials to homber has be as a que in gagerne merstimenmennen en nijmer einnigen in dier mett ture et en la fre internals de nueven una eque de la hair resaarenuls aren e indicare foliar be piguiple a de lucius la basis. ras promite garantigas la remisi a intigi self-re sa lere a anciente sa p. - g lenge sa repulsiva er mana garan izai ini que a vida l'as as income hip camps, on as the field on que, exequent age, event and e aup igrande sendrige una permanent is est si samente huma. ng yant neg en even muncha yang gan veneggi de este a un egsa-Lungung dide pringe år prison herice grepher up m pay in remigration of the up as market making for an in our Tues mente inconcrètiue en rant- que su gran destentir a computada con la antigua teoria poi fica, parece ser que la permanencia se contra a un proceso thuyente diferenciado de una estructura estable. Al mismo tiempo el proceso de inmortalización se ha andependizado de las ciudades. Estados y naciones, abarca a toda la humanidad, cuya historia pudo ver Regel, en consecuencia como un desarrollo ininterrumpido dei Espiritu. Con esto, la humanidad deja de ser sólo una especie de la naruraleza y lo que diferencia al hombre de los anumaies ya no es solo que tenga la palabra. Advove y mel como en la definición aristotélica, o que tenga raciocinio como dice la definición medieval animale rationase e su propia vida lo diferencia ahora, la unica cosa que en la definición tradicional se supon/a compartida por él con los animales. Droysen, que quiza tue el mas sesudo de los historiadores del sigio xix, lo ha dicho así «La especie es a los animales y piantas e como la historia a los seres humanou.»"

HISTORIA Y POLÍTICA

En tanto que es obvio que nuestra conciencia histórica pamas habria sido posible sin el ascenso del reino secular a una nueva dignidad, no esa tan obvio que el proceso histórico estaviera namado a otorgar a nas acciones y autimmientos terrenos dei hombre el nuevo alcance y la nueva significación necesanos. Ademas, a comienzos de la epoca moderna, todo indicaba que babria una elevación de la acción y la vida por ticas, y los agios xvi y xvi., tan mos en nuevas filosofias poblicas, fodavia no estan conscientes de algún éntasis especial en la historia. como este. Por el contrario sus intereses consistan en aberar. se de pasado mas que en rehabilitar el proceso histórico. El rusgo distintivo de la biosofia de Hobbes es su insistencia obstina da en el futuro y la resultante interpretación teológica del pensamiento y de la acción. La convicción de la época moder. na de que el hombre puede saber sólo lo que él mismo ha hecho parece estar de acuerdo con una gionficación de, bacer ances que con la actifad basicamente contempiativa de histoziador y de la conciencia bistorica en general.

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a display a musticing in the reviewer already use tell must be ha desembles pile om una satura en en que el hombre vaya don Bring a sea se em gening a more. I sales un le sieum fe sa sering the year error or high provingely time has been just in house. her report tical incremisalmente d'et le principio de la fressida. gain from an a firm who would be a hold reminer in this guarantee distribution on the property and as you stage according en una fina piera Secono servicado a nueva piera en luan frigierro da. 404 January Program Samura, Program and August Africa, Scanfer & Sag 40 store grap for each thinking with a list is the fibrillation order. I set pe w cests a transfer - recorder for all four winds as in which is a large to a number of the eye of the semantic order to the service with the rectional group are to mank or are receiving are note in a her tuens la naturale pera l'are five se ver talle de migration que per di Se Se se necucaliza : la Se se et la humani en es em uh mas gen, a gue en la el lada a historia. Se el san de si una sicilia da de homé en que se un mucolo imico que a la intida en

iacionara y separase, viven en una separación desesperadamente solitaria o se ven comprimidos en una masa, porque una sociedad de masas no es sino esa clase de vida organizada que se establece, de modo automático, entre los seres humanos que aún estan relacionados entre a pero han perdido el mundo que había sido común a todos ellos.

III JQUÉ ES LA AUTORIDAD∗

L

Parafevitar equivocos las vez habita sido mas sensato pregun arse que fue y no que es la sub-richad pues considero que tenemos el estimulo y la ocasion sub-centes para l'isemular asi la pregunta porque la autocidad se ha estumado de mundo modemo. En vista de que no podemos ya apovarnos en esperiencias autentica e indici of hiemente comunes a todos, la propia palabra esta ensimbrecida poe la controversa y la confusionbla, poco de su indicie resulta evidente o aun comprensible para indos, escepto que el ciem tico político puede recor far todavia que este concepto due en tiempos handamenta para la testia pos lica, o que la mayoria es ara de acuer fo en que una crisis de autireidas, constante y cada vez mas ampira y honda, ha acompanado el desarrisdo de nuestro mundo moderno en el prefente sigio.

Tai crisia visible desde el comienzo de la centuria, tiene una priscedencia y una na uraleza positicari da aparición de mismo senior positicari y una na uraleza positicari da aparición de mismo senior positica de sobre torna formatica de sobrema formatica mas o menos per mismo mas o menos dinamica de coda autoridad sadicionas. En rangua caro esta roptora fue un cerutitado directo de los regimenes o montmientos mismos mas bien parecia que estota a attimo bajo sa forma de movimientos y de regimenes era mas adecuado para sacar provecho de una atmistera general sistia y positica en que el satema de particios habsa perdido sa prestigio y y a no se recomica sa autoridad des gobierno.

El servorra mas significativo de la crista el que indica su hondura y gravedad, es su expansión hacia areas previas a lo poletico como as criariza y educación de los runos, de nde la autoriRefer of brooks in their group to stronger or go over their are the property of approximate an equal to approximate an equal to the stronger of the stronger o

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Augustementation and extension of periods for an integrate. Therefor pa-The public of the trevulate regarded furnish to on the legisle have a histor for one greaterning on larger a maximum to have nature he wer fact reporting a continuous generators and reverges a serial entere planta in interesters. Tende il parqui a concentrato agraditata. Sende & in keyage fing finds on his involvents have so a consum of teverse minimum by in selection margo emerge up terminal green to divide on a covery mentioning he on a time sections when all Men up introprofiped were adjusted poor majorated to governor agree been a de papagatingo a ples o ten. Auropue le aplicada peur tapo no bremmer as at much in an fabrication assure principal in a requirem to the capier for baces) in such loss per lists for as lonesting on an dispress for an integration and the actions of a complete a new constitution of what per finite land was fir to past you so resignate in the last or emitig it as for the openings receive their in receive from the receives per ni e e sene un la fiulta a la joir esta sempre espiranta ung planete, inherence. Feer gelær werde negge der ganterenig for provings for an forming paint of thoughton, aux communities again for may hargene are a against or up, on points is guide to in Just on tenso for for the service upon their firing religious material in tenso?

Augunus es y missiones semesarres our pareires presides en cuento la la militarria per tida. Se se aut initad. Aven assi en la

piedra anguar de los comientos del pasado, la autoridad brimde as manske za permanencia y talestabie, dad que tos humanos no es, an assumente prinque son serra mortales, los seres mas mestables a crysaces que i movemos. Ni se pierde la autoridad, se pie de el fundamento de mondo, que un fisda deide en timors empezo a visitari a cambiat y a pasaz con una rapidez cada dia mayor de una forma a otra, como in estus teramos y: viendo en un universo penteico y lucharamos con es, un universo en es que vodo, en todo momento, se puede, onvertir en cunsquier otra cosa. Pero sa per fida de sa permanencia y de sa regunidad municionas - que en positivio se confunde los is perdica de autoridad - no implica, a, menos no necesariamente. as per fida de la capacidad humana de construiz, preservar y cadar un mundi que pueda sobre isimos y continuar sendo un rugar adecuado para que en el vivan los que vengan detras de nouetros.

En evistente que risas refinaziones y descripciones se basan en la conviction de la importancia de establecer distinciones. Subrayar esta convicción parece ago grafuno ya que la menos por so que vo se incibas quien hava atirmado aun abierramente que un distinciones no tienes sensido. Sin embargo, en umasoria de las discusiones entre expertos poursons y sociales earste el acuer lo tacato de que podemos ignorar ais distinciones i regule adeiante sobre la hipotesis, le que la titul il idopuede namarse de cuasquier otra forma y de que las distinciones signs wan sign will en is medida en que lada uno tenga es derecht, de weet nie van terminouw. Con tode, nou peeg antamou si este cuciono derecho, garantizado en cuanto se tratan terras importances. - como si fuera el derecho a susten ar la opinion. polipia - no indica va que terminos como atiranias laucoridade dietria, ar smoe simplemente han perdale su signiti- a & comunic been que va ne sosmos en un municipal imun en el que las palabras de tindos poseen una significación incuestionabie de mode que lademas de estar condenados a viva verbalmente en un universo por completo carente fe sen i de posigaractizamos unos a otros es ferecho de restramos a nuestros propins mundos de signi, a ación a pedimos solo que cada uno sea coherente dentro de su terminologia personai. En estas cirproduct on a few darky rather a sequence of feedback for the few of the few o

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arm as Seria Se and the same 1. * . . . - 1 A A A M A ST T BI G IN THESE the area area are not have a quely state manife organism and control is not control to the region of the grant court deposit these disposimagnigering, not a quel settante. En la vel go domo revolunte a personaria e que e un que process from the real or opening and the same of the first or other for open humber on mir on the states to a new surse to be mantisdaminerativo de y horo - de san side un risporto de l'Ameri de Sans grane de un appe eine en ex neider file ur gestieren, gut intention. to connect to be put the part electricity on large flyings in annual support twice and process purpose for every function for every lineary expressing quar rights to table in a grace para an appropriate forming and got are 🐿 fre no eau embache en breit au legeramiched - ein resquert a ella miden su poder l

in moste an increasion from porcental que trabate em kiu heer en soren galik en gun gilgenskill, wit in gipe gille breig upto. This is stabled party are force what industries author their Barro que la misa en una puna por ficha encar que aujouen. to Selections de arrayage en a destaria non en en aparaja para el dad. Exercise in increase of there is not being control to members and along unique que mor ha hausa sa tien auf a que u u se mese ampe empe-La receste pest usa una santas en las de cianado en lemera actor of an principle for the strength of telephone in the season mention of the state of the their persons of the state of the state of the state of printing an age to exceed on the state that indictioning temporary by a · fire a sun to remain party fresh quit in a agreement party have potential error arises apply on some many part and other as a source. prince multiple for provider more growns. On humans from the guy en an ender en up along le later qu'i pais mou le que pour la galair el seuege tipos, en los fortestos en tieranes, en los fortestos was consideration being being be about the same and the province gening etc. Labor is excessed at settings from their page exist upon etc. by Transacting guarante de l'homas és rétires quiens pue augrorant les labors set the property of the party of the party of the property of the property of the party of the party

lings directly up excess seasons on his entitle hart or its max-Mid-file in quar firsteriors at an ign tree or as go discours a line entra p. Bland it still a prices with cert of again, at the market again withings the But of this generalization is not appropriate the first public on politica in his periodi populational pear to periodic, or year to sciences tier Witnessen de ren i dar in interfen obstat gestioneren gestiot gebei. ra in alliano na itogra sa umaganto for um gentinorem qui ni accusi per equippe to his ring, the long are provide from a community on excession terror a protein. Puda norge y a porpracile ex son deally use By distinct pulse and a sery above in larger hermatters at the Promote the interesting entail only the salestoning per a profite for product this say on any is under finally by the agreemental so the fire the grown from this way was beginned the contraction that groups can be coming the him appropriate that are interested to the property of the contract of the contract of apar se sepremer : desende pares manteneres une este carbo desen per se the delite. I also says again the delite the air having by have the tan or not serve adapt on its sopport, on forming with quir grafie the first of the first and the first of the first Français recipio de la carrego de las hacipativades a aprobleme qui humeste con un south a trust water superstant to extend pur esty oragina permitte agregation with any parties for all affectives a section of development a war to longe set a pay on to be unfationed by somegane to be garage brande and Squiller by the present a segret of positioning are not also part of the some original for an paragraphic for remailmentable e puesa de sete escapion marco que en qui where it is an in the second of the second of the second of filter and a profit of the safe and are any arterior to be added to alter the designation of discretizing an apquar to furnish for purchasing entry our pri met file was papagete, was he freezhje even fa fil some a wee ap gapache pa

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I describe programment hat upon in the species on in religious to a a protestivability of an experience appropriate as therefore feature of their as they tratados en tesas hosen que la gener destinas y la vicioneta es autoritio il na legitorio si siene introduccio in via que polici. bright upon surting a to dear ready, partitud per sign dear to be or surface a net while the returning or feet of or or or or promitted to has manget as in particular maps, the sange has sented. The mapages is as in gapt, the the stage while the ser fig. . So this page for Joseph for an investigat for its the stage of the purpose of the present of the standard for the second for high the greatent articles of the design graphed white the greatest articles and the Just begreite der fertreite freie genter. Die feit bie gest einstelle unter E-elligen des y une den ude troit de la leuren : est araben e : equality FIRMS I FIRE 1974 PMF ACTIVE BUILDING MISSING MISSINGTON INSURABILITY. the error to a good of which is come and source is to be interest on the come of the come engine of the constituence. In age, I has but on the cold, and is good ag-Referenciant to early was not not up to propose the party of the first and the first a the burget for programmers on supergree or minimum trade only include the first stronger statement from method of one for by the strong of the statement of the s per a fermination due to beginn was in the promite epochs as to exdentro de un marco autoritario.

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maevo descubrimiento de la latidad funcional de la religion producira un sustituto de la religion, como si nuestra civilización no estuviera ya lo bastante repieta de suceuaneos y tonterias de toda clase.

Comparadas con estas teorias, sas distinciones entre sos sistemas tiranico, sutoritario y totalitario que he propuesto sonabistoricas, si por historia entendemos no el espacio historico. en el que aparecseron ciertas tormas de gobierno como entidades recessos bies, sino el proceso historico en el que siempre todo se consierte en alguna otra cosa, y son antifuncionales en la medida en que el contenido del tenomeno vate para determinar (anto la naturaleza dei cuerpo poutico como su funcionen la sociedad, y no viceversa. Para decirio en termanos politicos benen la tendencia a aiumir que en el mundo moderno ia autoridad casi se ha dervanecido santo en los hamados sistemas autoritanos como en el mundo libre y que as aberrad. decir la libertad de movimiento de los seres humanos. amenazada en rodas parres incluso en sas sociedades i bres, pero abolida de raiz soto en tos sistemas cotalitarios y no en las tiramas y dictadares.

A si ituz de esta situación presente planteo las siguientes preguntas acuales fueron las experiencias politicas que correspondian al concepto de autoridad y de cuaz de estas nacio este untimo? «Es verdad que la afarmación par/onico-anstoteixa de que toda comunidad bien ordenada esta compuesta por los que gobiernan y los que son gobernados (avo vasidez antes de la era moderna? O para formularlo de otra manera, «que) po de mundo dego a su fin después de la epoca moderna desahande una u otra forma de autoridad en distintas esteras de a vida pero fuzo que todo el concepto de autoridad permiera por completo su validez.)

2

La autoridad como factor unico si no el decisivo de las comunidades humanas no siempre estatio aunque, iene tras de si una sarga historia y las experiencias en una que se basa este concepto no estan necesariamente presentes en todas las entiriades position and it wish as of concepts and the engine numbers. Note that a group of a few and advantage expensions are an area of as feed a group of a feed and a feed a

I want gar that brook the geofenters, we was upon an purchase image. THE BEAT WAS TO SHEET OF AN ADMINISTRATION AND WAS ARRESTED. the series with a printer on the series of the appropriate a resident To the public Strict areas that have been produced affind any of the contract go describe advancements of the service of the adjusted in the graph of the with the environment for interest of the Lythe golden rapidly find all the north ha pears our lettur are percepular de quartus percurs un un de de against the again for empression of a superior of the state for an edge of the following program of the program of the first terms of the program of the pro Figure as the section of the granting often after physical expenses to Buging grat to give first and take to gettell the to be at the great and the great terms of the great terms wasted the part country of the party of the the state of the s paramaginar or digit of the organization of the entire and through services appearing the green escaled for magnetic little sees se white helpforter stag and on again a despite out of all the municipal for palacyclists, show or quite specify upon the managers, show or for more running must be inches once purpose as about on its party of that we employed have no for the month of the an a for his see in page a new district of the same page 4 to r writers and we service up out the first the first burnarian is ex-Majordan e no i qu'en al q frenquesals en alcouremente i une qu'e the lates office growing delegations with postal and he delegation de-

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generaciones agusentes la pauta para comprender el contenido. de la autoridad laiseron de experiencias especificamente no polit can aurgieren de la estera del «hacer» y de las artes, donde tiene que haber expertos y donde el carricter de idoneidad es el enteno aupremo lo de la comunidad hogarena. Justamente es eneste aspecto determinado en terminos políticos donde la biosofia de la escuela socratica produjo su mayor impacto sobre nuestra tradición. Aun hoy creemos que Aristóteles definio achombre en primer lugar como un ser político dotado de habia o nizón, com que sólo fueo en un contexto poutico, o que Platón. expuno el significado original de su doctrina de las ideas en 🖽 republica inanque por el contració la cambio por razones politicas. A pesar de la grandeza de la tilosofia política griega, se puede poner en duda que hubiera logrado perder su inherente caracter arópico si los romanos, en su intatigable busqueda de la tradición y la autoridad" no se hubierazi decidido a hacerie cargo de esa falosofía y a reconocerla como la autoridad maxima en todos los asuntos de teoria y pensamiento. Pero tueron capaces de devar a cabo esta integración solo porque tanto la autoridad como la tradición ya habian desempenado un papel decisivo en a vida política de la Republica romana.

En el corazón de la portica romana, desde el principio de la Republica hasta casi el fin de la epoca amperia, se aixa la convicción del caracter sacro de la fundación, en el sentido de que una vez que algo se ha fundado conserva su validez para tridas las generaciones futuras. En compromiso político agnilica ante todo la custodia de la fundación de la ciudad de Roma. Por esta causa, los romanos no eran capaces de repetir la tundación de su primera poro, al asentar una nueva colonia, pero podian anadiria a la fundación origina, hasta que toda l'alia y por ultimo, todo el mundo occidental quedaron unidos y administrados por Roma, como si todo el mundo no fuera más que una provincia de Roma. Desde el principio al fisicios romanos estaban ligados al empiazamiento específico de esta unica ciudad y a diferencia de los griegos, no podian decar en epo-

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En términos superficiales, la pérdida de la fe en los estados futuros es política, aurique sin duda no espiritualmente la disfunción más significativa entre nuestra epoca y los siglos antenores. Y esta pérdida es absoluta. No importa lo religioso que nuestro mundo pueda volver a ser in cuanta le autêntica exista aún en el ni cuan hondamente estén arraigados nuestros val pres morajes en los sistemas religiosos, el miedo a, intierno ya no esta entre los motivos que podrian evitar o estimular las acciones de una mayoria. Esto parece inevitable, si la secularidad. del mundo amplica a separación de los campos religioso y poatico de la vida, en estas circunstancias, la religión estaba destinada a perder su elemento político, tal como la vida publica. estaba destinada a perder la sanción religiosa de la autoridad trascendente. En tal situación, estaria bien recordar que el criterio piacónico acerca de la forma de persuadir a la gente para que respete las normas de la minoria fue atópico antes de su sanción religiosa: su finalidad establecer el gobierno de los pocos sobre los muchos- era demasiado evidente para ser utilizable. Por la misma razón la te en los estados tuturos desapareció del ambito publico en cuanto su utilidad política quedó en tota, evidencia por el hecho de que fuera de, cuerpo de las creencias dogmaticas, se la consideraba digna de ser conservaria.

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Sin embargo, hay algo que llama muchisimo la atención en este contexto mientras todos los modelos, prototipos y ejemplos de relaciones autoritarias — el del hombre de Estado como sanador y médico como experto, como puoto, como el amo que sabe como educador como sabio— todos ellos de origen griego, se conservaron helmente y se articularon despues hasta convertirse en trivialidades vacias, la unica experiencia poticica que aportó la autoridad como palabra, concepto y realidad a nuestra historia— la experiencia romana de la fundación— parece haberse perdido y otividado por completo. Esto ocurnó hasta tal punto que en el momento en que empezamos a hablar y pensar sobre autoridad, que despues de todo es uno de

los conceptos entrates del pensamento politico es como si que la amia arrapados en un embre sia de abstracciones mesa foras eligidas de ministraciones en sas que todo se pue foramaz por citra sia el sentundor con eta perque ni en la habilita de en la seda sendiana enemies una reasidad a la que sidos podamos apesas unanimemente li riste el se cisas estimitiva lo que cambien se positiva perdiar de intra manera por ejemplo que los combiens se positiva perdiar de intra manera por ejemplo que los consensos agregas una ces san discados por los romaneses a tra en de la cradicio en y la autoridad seminimiente elementa de la concencia biordina y sias sas emperiencias positivas que no podian entraz en su marco.

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nuestro contexto como acontecimientos en los que las acciones de los hombres aun estan inspiradas por los ongenes de esa tradición, de los que también reciben su mayor impulso. Se dina que son la única salvación que esta tradición romana occidental se dio para los casos de emergencia. El hecho de que no sólo las diversas revoluciones del sigio XX sino todas las habidas desde la francesa hayan terminado mal, en la restauración o en una tirama, parece señalar que incluso esos últimos medios de salvación. brindados por la tradición perdieron su eficacia. La autoridad ta, como la conocimos en tiempos, nacida de la experiencia romana de la fundación y entendida a la luz de la Hlosofia política. griega, no se restableció en ningun caso, ni a través de las revoluciones ni por medios de restauración menos prometedores, y menos aun mediante todas las actitudes y tendencias conservadoras que una y otra vez invaden la opinión pública. Vivir en un campo político sin Butoridad y sin la conciencia paraieia de que la tuente de autoridad trasciende al poder y a los que estan en el poder, significa verse enfrentado de nuevo - sin la te religiosa. en un comienzo sacro y sin la protección de las normas de comportamiento tradicionales y por tanto, obvias— con los problemas elementales de la convivencia humana.

IV. QUÉ ES LA LIBERTADA

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Programative gue es la libertail parei e ser una empresa sun esperanzas Ex. em si as contrado sones i ane ricensas del pasech i car lo regan experienchi paga hacer que la mentre se ves intragarda a emilia per fidermas. Se impunistivivas, la unica, regis la luai, segun er de de didema give se hang en nguli, penulis san impulsi de ha and the second for the property of the second second 100 je C2 100 prender la vies in la constrance in la sellar la europe may semple sa falla agrad se piun le resugnar semi a sincepitais son en tre numera concern as a numeral concerns que nos faces que termina. Ferral perchantic responses beaut numbers experiencia facest en el munchi l'essecule en el que non lettentamile segue el pelle. great the automotion of the first term of the second of the second of em and poders, a consequence grant a liver at humana en una les sauedining a higherige on one autopopolic galaxingta a so fargo enven se principality for teachings a per agree gar personnings on talk consume to the humanas à le el contracto en toulos los ampos le estures. peer this a resign, this premises a gap on memory designer for the make an early ... In make what you a real from a leasting for your posts. principalities principals and law entrain a storage, the culturing anomalities is as auracistado si de usar a hemini de terrer un escribir escriba abrerfemore to respect to the earliest too had memor have una approximen property was on of encountry for his preventions of the province in many providence serve material for version discussors even as a separty. M lithrespet prouding one was represented wantly in the single echa una mirada a si usun supiantemente es su arrico mas cealcins the loss given while pieces, grain, supreparent less francières de les mentanelles and the graph fell the elements. There are single-particle before the la est esa meneral per la mest societa i serie lasga de la libraria e I a new que la prueba de la numaviado da prestendas de perwere to be effects in a later of the process of the players. We are much for a pulse to all process for the process of the players of the pla

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As a series a terminal to a making your property and more parpoint park line industr in 16 park was no except in up taken and who as there a the formal emphasis who are arrived when we god not have desired manager over a margin over At proligious at an few spills ares 2 source to other as per Markin a late of discours and leading the interpolat in older in the was and the same of page to page and factor of the of the other transwhere girls regard the day offers the services and sits between it go diese the to also at the part sign supplies on the property first work as they we be provided mission. In the place appear are in an electric deal to page and to all a regions has pass arrivals a his other my Similar in the first of the fir a part parties in a partie our is partie to graduate our in or that will be gather you as more part from the coping to have upon Mittagle position of cit may be time asset for the A. Mittagle of the district who we have the property of the second property of the second by the property of meros cristianos ante el campo público como tal, y de la hostiiidad que hacia el sentian, y de que quertan desentenderse de él para ser libres. Y esta libertad cristiana destinada a lograr la salvación estuvo precedida, como hemos visto, por la actifiad de abstención de los filósotos ante la política, a modo de requisito previo para la forma de vida suprema y más libre la vita contemplativa.

A pesar de la enorme carga de esta tradición, y a pesar de la quizá más significativa premura de nuestras propias experiencias, que presionan en la dirección de un divorcio entre li bettad y política, pienso que el jector puede creer que ha jeido una trivialidad cuando dije que la raison d'être de la política es la libertad y que esa abertad se experimenta sobre todo en el hacer. A continuación no haré más que retiexionar sobre esta vieja perografiada.

2

La libertad como elemento relacionado con la polluca no es un tenómeno de la voluntad. No nos entrenamos con el aberum arbitrium, una libertad de elección que juzga y decide entre dos cosas dadas, una buena y una mala, y cuya elección. está predeterminada por un motivo que sólo se puede aducapara iniciar su puesta en practica: «Y por eso ya que no puedo demostrar que soy un amante y para pasar estos bellos dias corteses / estay decidido a demostrar que soy un villano. / y que odio los placeres ociosos de estas jornadas » Mas bien. para seguir con Shakespeare, se trata de la libertad de Bruto- Esto sera así o monremos por elio», es decir la libertad de dar existencia a algo que no existia antes, algo que no estaba dado. ni siquiem como objeto de conocimiento o de imaginación, y que por tanco, en términos estrictos, no se podra conocer La acción, para ser libre, ha de estar abre de motivaciones, por una parte, y de su presunta finalidad como efecto predecibie. por otra. Esto no significa que motivos y finalidades no sean lactores importantes en cada acción independiente, sino que son sus factores determinantes y que la acción es libre en la medida en que es capaz de trascenderios. En cuanto esta determito be selective the aprile to be interests assert to purite uses a science of a selection of the purite to state of a selection of the purite to state of a selection of the purite to t

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es quizá as consecuencia más danina y peligrosa de la ecuación. filosófica de abertad y libre albedrio, ya que ileva a una negación de la abertad humana es decar si se comprende que, sean lo que sean, los hombres jamas son soberanos—, o bien a as idea de que la tibertad de un hombre, de un grupo o de una entidad politica se puede lograr sólo al premo de la libertad. o sea, la soberania de todos los demas. Dentro del marco conceptua, de la filosofia tradicional es bien difici, comprender que la libertad y la no soberania puedan coexistir o, para expresarto de otra forma, que la tibertad se pueda haber dado a los hombres a condución de la existencia de la no soberania. En rigor negar la libertad por la existencia de la no soberania del hombre es tan poco realista como pelagroso es creer que pue de ser abre el individuo o el grupo sólo si es soberano. La tamosa soberanta de los cuerpos políticos siempre fue una i/usión que lademas, no se puede mantener más que con instramentos de violencia, es decar con medios esencialmente no ponticos. En condiciones humanas, que estan determinadas por el becho de que en la tierra no vive el hombre sino los hombres, la libertad y la soberanta son tan poco identicas que na siquiera pueden existir simultaneamenae. Cuando los hombres quieren ser soberanos, como individuos o como grupos organizados, deben rendirse a la opresión de la voiuntad, ya sea la individual con la que cada uno se obliga a si mismo, o la evoluntad general» de un grupo organizado. Si los hombres quieren ser libres, deben renunciar precisamente a ia sobe-TRILIAT

Ya que todo el problema de la libertad surge para nosotros en el horizonte de las tradiciones cristianas, por una parte y de una tradición originalmente antipolítica, por otra, nos resulta difícil comprender que pueda existir una libertad que no sea un atributo de la voluntad sino un accesono del hacer y de la acción. Volvamos, pues, una vez mas a la Antiguedad, es decir a sus tradiciones políticas y prefuosóficas, no por motivos eruditos y tampoco para mantener la continuidad de nuestra tra-

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nuestra vida terrestre y el carácter milagroso inherente a los acontecimientos que determinan la reaudad histórica consiste en que en el campo de los asuntos humanos, conocemos ai autor de los «milagros». Los hombres son los que los realizan, hombres que, por haber recibido el doble dos de la libertad y de la acción, pueden configurar una teandad propia.

V. LACRISIS EN LATING ACTOR

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Last read general gue se aprodese del musició mindems en auterresolad a critique rester ses externes de se vivile se manufacina de Bestimes made on pulse pages on our normal paint forcaments, program to galanging freezenge borreger by an Enrachin makin upo de agains percent many against security and expension of the conference for la echicarion, que al menos a visargo de sitrem decenso se ha conservable on an periforma prairies. In present a magnitual, order partir may make the eye has presented in A territories for the or sequarte une gran graginale en para director es unitable avance. de los prouge et de un lecture le ses portraes elementales à region to scale of commencer was a selected of the parablement for an beautific come corresponding paid and importance is enforced unerly a paren de aga que elabores estas praves piaza : incerner de mageia. Nos obsespere a se i sespora empi i isso e fui ar va i se sas experienti un posit, in gar, for version practices can be sealth, it is, with past agreed in other process. unamental presentation is to Promote surrice Magazine, son his samples to suprince guillers and experimental specimens on a bispote majorates give a parear for les vertables apparaches de le legisters Said an inspire in prior toute high year director no type for on Vinginia to Fluence Municipal in up taken Struck hymography upon their mile wife. e de miles i son in mile de ner profesi ajuar ne represe e i han disade en centación e specificação em up terciment bisas feminentado de amgrapules termas. Introduction para achai aris, a langua persuaga da len de la vecta en les à l'englèses i qualités de lan que ne en facial encontrar paralelo de otros balles.

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En santi a la estucación mismo la sistem surgida de de momento de los mues is po personal sua sensición mas se rua hasta puerter supo figure trado se hajo providor por este supo não de terre do educativa moviernas que maiser in en Europa cere as supulseren en una mistalve meso santas de termater e un

princites que perment a ingrae hap, el emandante de una edua son programme and minimum rate or much a sections entiquiation. Le liquie em El enigle quantité en el lugre en extrementari was product actor and on which the sector of the contractor nes de entreanua anua las que fes que entendo su como a g we've perform on a description of higher comes constituted to arvis femeres will see were for our flaguage see it when an size the somes a first was president to proper uping any constraint on nghan alian. In pronger on forgues, long to gall an encurrage the water indications in electricity to the first the termination that the was I fee to say who enverse go give a larger to ser as reverse burnes or a as an in happe in what as swigmen he a seriourna humana, as we we feminent, such we tient up as ance are to permitter en esteria en un las que los racias ueras bissa su who was a process sense of the sense of the sense of a rapcie humana nemara fracasa - fenore le en ierai de fas resculentas nos enfermiajonis, un una titua esta que le razion en en reso ad ene servició comun gracias al cas nomes a number to the opposition has a line darment a san sans program. mar exists or year in his members than prowho is first, at work for any plan operation of a rag to their parts. for a room for his. Earl gotal room for form or or una large for murch air your rest personner air afea. I day on the series ha smuch are una capita mage a apparet to que to part. du lo el hundizuento

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present a un peròliema de inmensa filla, rad proque surgir Senza, de una vivia da de massa i en respuesta a as ternaziolas que tal sociedad hacia.

Le core serie deberman temps personne ser garrie man general que un rivia arquir a la manura a l'apport la maken. It make the move that have been a proper town there is never the finial autofasi sermigenti un is and servici en la la amenta ana sia afficial of the first expensive to must be made after a laborate after all in mas are one year a frequest our to a teleprica in the overthat the section sported that the first in Electric grant is the species. an interest authorize projet un mance agres a la em care aspeciel principles and the same for same apparent and same he has been find is a majornative rule, been by a jainstructural size on turning chess pure allestral lare te sestema telescaria is licia se que an est person per periodica as en el necesario esperanto policie entrater periodica. und the injuries we appoint a disjust that a laboration agreed has talani per urbi azum pun e dur ulun uni turum telluri romituu serve en el nom un que pos anno es las amende una esperan for the major of the area unity to make a filtery to company only up for en fall a de uma escume um umbansa, la principiración piaza el lumiuniversity as in theme give enter a large. Se law program who enter has Ses pive kil pue sus planes de estilutal pade len de una sidemias. go I was a la guera ou es abelita sa alabel de la ma que se bace on clies

A primeral tera qui sa le più ria pensar que esta amienable esta ferreri fe la naturaleza misma fe una sixue di la acci ricationia una e fivia acci e a ne es un perfegio fe usa acci ricationia una mitoda a la alertra fornite i cetti. Pien sa le missa en acci e esta fiventa de più acci e a competitoria de più acci acci acci ferriaria a la titur par la escuera pe maria i santiti penemina e firma par la escuera pe maria i santiti penemina e acci e esta per la competita de più acci e esta della pere esta di la esta della pere esta della p

to. Aunque los angleses mismos no so tengan del todo ciaro, esto implim que aun dirigido por un gobierno socialista, el país seguiti mendo gobernado tal como lo viene siendo desde la noche de los mempos, es decir no por una monarquia ni por una democracia, sino por una oligarquia o aristocracia, esto último en casa de que se considere que los más dotados son también los mejores, so que de ningun modo constituye una certeza. En los listados Unidos esa división casa fisica de los máos en dotados y no dotados se consideraria intolerable. La mentocracia contradice el principio de igualdad, el de una democracia igualitaria, no menos que cualquier otra oligarquia.

Lo que hace tan aguda la crisis educativa americana es, pues, el carácter político del país, que lucha por igualar o borrar en la medida de lo posible las diferencias entre jóvenes y viejos, entre personas con talento y sin talento, entre ninos y adultos y en particular entre alumnos y profesores. Es evidente que ese proceso puede cumpiarse de verdad sólo a costa de la autondad del profesor y a expensas de los estudiantes mas dotados. Sin embargo también es evidente al menos para quien haya estado en contacto con el sistema educativo americano, que esta dificultad, arraigada en la actificia política del país, bene incluso graodes ventajas no sólo de indote humana sino también en términos educativos, en cualquier caso estos factores generales no pueden expiscar la crisia en que hoy nos encontramos, no justificar las medidas que la precipitaren

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Esta medidas desastrosas se pueden relacionar con tres aupuestos historis, bien conocidos de todos. Es primero es que
existen un mundo y una sociedad infantiles, ambos autônomos, por lo cua, han de entregarse a los miños para que sos gobiernen una adultos sólo deberan ayudar en ese gobierno. La
autoridad que dice a cada miño qué tiene que hacer y qué no
tiene que hacer esta dentro del propio grupo infanti, y entre
otras comecuencias, esto produce una actuación en la que es
adulto como individuo está merme ante el hiño y no estable
ce contago con el Solo le puede decir que haga so que quiera

s despues es tar que se arra la perir del es sima se rompensación aciones reales sinormaies en reinicios sindicios sucigidas de la sessimencia de presionas de sidas acienades. De mos que en la esencia de este supries la sista enconcuentae hes his de que roma en cuenta se acia grupa sino sa nanocomo andividuo.

Denite del grape, povi e poeste, e nancesta mia he penti que antes prorque a au resda-f de un gri pri aun de un gri priinfants, sempre es much, max fuerte y may stanica le « que promuse net us man nen ensi de usa su irroualdes indo-whitaves. Ne ne mira fesde e punto de lista de cada nirol sus positos sades de retie acres de haves alla purity uen allem prairis amente ny se yank lit enclientra en una licha finigria, les una persona que son fi da lanne una supiera es lactiables, la anne el seni en una ese sa se quaero a piesas de side picie de contar se la ser-Interited to some an electricity of the form proper last term en la primiririo proc defina son desemperada, de una mismiria de um endrers arta e un a massicia accionis de trabia dia demas. Hay poully presimal mail ares que pue san asportar seminance. by administrative tracking the comparable that the fine form and same pro section of concess his nation was removed a constituent of any agencies de sobrelievaria.

First and a emanciparse for a authorised for local first of nine or so story same per quelle is any authorised months may be according a transact for exist a force mayorised for said queller case in result and or queller despect in local mayorised for its mayorised in the according per for a property and property and a summary is more in the authorised numerous in the purpless refused in the purpless reasoner to be a superposed numerous in the purpless refused into a purpless reasoner to for the interpretable continuous property or the local respective of the purpless of the purpless

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terial worth purchase parameters in majories, and in preside has the area promone your man major grantle experiences. In the trial greation in St., and committee the engine specialists the inter-designant of a Project III in Face of the second of the second of the second of movement of the contract of suprement from the other of a principles and the second said the new arts to all from the second of the property to the district. er mer englist styn reger. Di yn indiret, indiret han de bin stoder stin oe solution to the season of the season per market and per a se empresadado la laboral de los quiesta dels productos que per la presidencia. For Bluest In Europe of Temperate Dr. majoring affection of the appealing of the semate it has no not agraded to the parties a discuss ration. territorial progress was to a great progress for and an applied on the Equipment dur que rasser à unité tiquary : tiquar le qualitation Bet pe direct our and perfection and so make paid district so make applied the color for the color and the color to the color and the color

I en 1901 yangun metros a un giar op ur bage igna i de generaga fie. If \$500 to be not been produced for any or one than he said to while the territory standards and an exemplancing grant had sales Balticone higgs with the good for an endpoint from the late a store to race in an a rece materials part of discould the witness throughout making and the with our expersion or the tiple and minerally on a progress with first exquest from mutator grad with the same of safety and safety to save the safety and saf have the control of the participation of the pattern of the participation of the participation of the participation of the participation of the pattern of the participation of the pattern of the patter After the territorial for a present of the contract of the appropriate part of highers as making the proof on the foreign distinct mining a pool of perdirect according to the designation of the party of with an in agreem that gods got in purpose American de die generale in man anne anne de sente de la gradus. Disapprend destinating the set of the first state and the set fifte a re- transport on the Approximate state electric sale, there had artin half the Lat. I of constraints that you have realized in the order reporting Married Affirmation are interested from the second contract of the contract of Begins from within the far and what for one for any making and the the state. The a fee stage officers made copies a registrate for recit. It has freezing for a management of the freezing interest proportions have been Paperter Production of the contract of the paperter of the contract of the con the Report of the same is an appropriate or the same page of the same patients and services.

Sin embargo esta descripción es erromes, no solo por su evidente exageración, que pretenda animarie un punco a favor timo también porque no toma en cuenta que dentre de este proceso se focues importanças especial a borrar en la mas se medida posible la distinción entre suego a trabais en también primero. Se considero que el juego era la forma mas y yaz y apropada de comportamiento para el niño la unica lorma de actividad que se fesarrolas espois anesmente desde su en siem cas como o no. Solo la que se puede aprender a traves fe sue go hace borror a la vitalistad de son pequeños. La actividad estantina academica el aprendizaje que tal como se entenda arriginamente, obsigaba a una criario na una activida pasiva, le hacia perder su personai iniciativa su dica.

La entrecha coperano epere entas dos cesas - la sustitución del aprendes por es hacer y des trabajo por el pago-- esta di recramente, sutrada por la entersanza de sos altornas or enternaas and habiands, to fecul hactendo argo i no estudiando gramark, a visio agui en ritras parabeas, sene que aprendes sina lengua estranera de mismo modo en que un bebe aperode su tengua materna, como si sugara y en la il primusitad inimerriampida. de la existencia. I vistiana. Aparte feux cuentine de oue esti les posible o no les posible hasta cierre lamine son l'unité se puede maniener al pine sois el las en un ambite de habiances. de ma segundo tengras - coto form caso o que esse pe sentension. fo intenta i inscientemente mantenei al navo aunque sa ni loera, en el ravet det antarior a le large, des massir tiemps, possible, Le que tendras que preparar al nave para el mundo de los aduation et habiti. de trabajar y de mo sugar adquarido poco a poco. se deja a un tado en tavor de la autonomia de imundo de la infancia.

Nea cual sea el neao entre bacer y saber lo la vati les de la fremusa pragmarica, su apsicacion ai campio educativo, es de cir a la forma en que aprende e nino procura dar un caracter abiológic al musico infanto de la misena manera que vimos en el caso despe mes supuesto basico. También en este lato con el presento de respetar sa independencia del nino se lo encluye de mundo de los masoires y se la manciene artificialmente en el ausoir si es que se puede aplicarle ai denominación de mundo.

Esta ferenciam fer name en ar afu ca principar e amperia retaciona nontrata esta e forma acen a min produceram quar estace atom as againmente an entrata estaca acentrata principar al minimo compresso en entrata de las humanos en tengamente de las quar se refuse se en una estapa remignorar, una prespuesaciona para la etapa adulta.

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En as ret versus qui spisient su quae in sun sa estati en la exapa de l' for many was from the course of the same for the ball of the same same who and forth to prince as a found the deligible of a princip on the fine of distributed in the property of the state of religional and papers. In a engeniera promoting a service land on Tradition has payable apply gue to be the explained a spill appropria-Bugtis de transferração de Helphale da laboração do migo mon efectivo das the paper bushess and attended on a strain on the section of department of be stoners to the adversary. He may be seen on bother governing a consist from a ting to be a space with against Spate go appropriate grant European freezona igni laga un filozon e ha argan en lant alta la un tonmagnificant of a secretal mean for inguistic interior freeze Buriet que informa apresiden le ceta mai en capata à à care. as the department of the contract of the state of the property of the state of the percent to color was pur in telestamon habet mortale. the method been a passes to us otherwise where a significant is entire grade transported on the law and area are a district and with god up the interface of the few territors array since pages to take upt again in p. I gerggerman gant exte organisk grapht

Em subliquem from a sens and to refuge our de hugar a errige presentations and supposed to reflery the study of er personner den lang bester elementeraktivische man genomigen. In be wastrage receipting it may an programpy of extra power or you by being at socialities made extraorregions is not reprise for la leis on the first mana igue oi se manciene ilempre igual ichi. I je ir renuma ile man gove of one muchos sources in proper per se argorie for numerous arrest humanus. A trenge tree a receipt large his to treep the him party and are now on an engage to freeze, and I have at right the tale has been some considerable as before agrees on there is no makes the factor are not so be as a factor to transference in the up to the terminate and the terminate is not their annual terminates to en un are humane. I une bidon gaperen na en mo brone pair aj marriery to be described to an income off and prompt with Servicin a survey desirable reflactions paid un code de repair en Mingrache grant in the dip emigrature with the world by Partie and English P. Chipur. In Equipmental and in the light light in great respect. de as vivia i su desgre sión es esser en ujo ses humigos, que esta en can be well the regard semaction for the same same the territory gas my gar men in men biere el euro en regere min en reconocio. in an impossibility of the action of the party of the control of t be my majorite a control may be the popular my as he has ever emperate P have to force on the oth legisle spin sole one together the dur air no his an angach or pupor manimo drive driver while Principal with APP 50 for the Land Carry with 1996. The Interest to be Region (Appril en ja presi ug al i in filir el majoren imienal. En ja vida - el encre mammeries, a place is a fire ere it. By your tendent was anomalies for mospen cuando tienen cachocros.

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ble la nuestra civilización ese fin quiza coincide con la licenciatura aruversitaria más que con la graduación en el instituto porque la formación profesional que dan las universidades o las escuelas tecnicas, aunque relacionada con la educación, es en si mismi un tipo de especialización, en la que no se busca introducir al joven en el mundo como un todo, sino en un regimento limitido, especibico de el No se puede educar sin ensenar al mismo tiempo, una educación un aprendizaje es vacia y por tanto en gran facilidad degenera en una retorica morsi-emotiva. Peroes muy facil ensenar sin educar y cualquiera puede aprender cosas hasta el fin de sus dias sin que por eso se convierta en una persona educada. Sin embargo, todos estos detaites deben quedar en manos de los expertos y de los pedagogos.

ao que aqui nos axeresa y por consigniente no debemos rentar a la ciencia especial de la pedagogia, es la retacion entre las personas adultas y sos ranos en general o, para decirio esterminos mas generales y exactos, questra actitud hacia la nataland, hacar el hecho de que todos hemos venido as mundo al morr y de que este mundo se renueva sun cesar a traves de los nacimientos. La educación es el punto en el que decidimos u tramos el mundo to bestante como para asurur una responsaboded por el y au salvarlo de la numa que, de no ser por la renovacion, de no ser por la llegada de los nuevos y los jovenes. sens spevitable. También mediante ai educación decidimos si Mamos a questros hajos lo bastante como para no arrojarios de puestro mundo y librarios a sus propios recursos, nu quitarles de las manos la oportunidad de emprender algo nuevo, algoque nosotros no imaginarnos, lo bastante como para preparar ka con Jempo para la Jarea de renovar un mundo comun.

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ciones relacionadas con ellos mismos, de su condición y posición en la sociedad y de la forma en que ambas se proyectaban. sobre sus personas, pero no reascionadas de ninguna manera con el mando de los objetos ni con la objetividad que ellos aportaban. El problema relativamente quevo de la sociedad de masas es quiza mas serio pero no por las masas mismas, sino porque esencialmente ésta es una sociedad de consumidores donde el tiempo de ocio va no se usa para el perfeccionamiento personal o la adquisición de una posición social superior. sino para mas y mas consumo y mas y mas entretenimiento. Como po hay bustantes bienes de consumo que satisfagur los apetitos crecientes de un proceso vital cuya energia, que ya no se gasta en el esfuerzo y en los problemas de un cuerpo que trabaja, se debe agotar en el consumo, es como si sa vida misma. tendrera bacin las cosas que nunca le estavoeron destinadas. El resultado, por supuesto, no es fa cultura de masas, que en términos estrictos no existe sino el entretenimiento de musas, que se abracata de los objetos culturales del mundo. Me parece an error fata: sa idea de que tal sociedad se volvera mas «culta» con el paso del tiempo y gracias a la educación. La cuestion es que una sociedad de consumo posibiemente no puede saber cómo hacerse cargo de un mundo y de las cosas que pertenecen de modo exclusivo as espação de las apartencias mundanas, porque su actitud central bacia todos los objetos, la actifud des consumo deva la ruana a todo lo que toca.

2

Yn dije antes que el málisse de la cuatura está destanado a considerar el fenómeno del arte como punto de partida, por que ans obras de arte son los objetos cuaturales por excelencia. No obstante, la estrecha interrelación de cuatura y arte no significa que sean una misma cosa. Pero aunque in distinción entre ambas no tiene gran importancia, cuando se trata de ver qué ocurre con la cuatura en el caso de la sociedad y en el de la sociedad de masas, si la tiene el problema de la indole de la cultura y la relación que mantiene con el campo positico.

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Este humanismo es el resultado de la cultura animi, de una actitud que sabe cómo cuidar, conservar y admirar las cosas del mudo. En este sentido, asume la tarea de arbitrar y mediar entre las actividades puramente políticas y las de pura elaboración opuestos mutuos en varios aspectos. Como humanistas, podemos elevarnos por encima de esos conflictos entre e, hombrede Estado y el artista, como podemos elevarnos en libertad porencima de las especialidades que todos debemos conocer y buscar. Podemos estar por encima de toda ciase de especializacones y de faisteísmos, siempre que aprendamos el modo de ejetter nuestro gusto con libertad. En este caso sabremos responder a los que con tanta frecuencia nos dicen que Platón o aigin otro gran autor antiguo está superado; estaremos en condioones de comprender que, aunque todos los criticos de Platón estén en lo cierto, no obstante Platón todavia puede ser mejor compañía que sus criticos. En cualquier caso, recordemosto que los romanos el primer pueblo que se tomo la cuatura en serio tal como lo hacemos nosotros pensaban que dhe ser ana persona culta: la que sabe como elegir compañía estre los hombres, entre las cosas, entre las ideas, tanto en el presente como en el pasado.

VII VERDADA POLÍTICA:

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perhalde pur puede recer en la naturaleza del lampo più nico. ness pergerment using our laser for over 2nd come so are brown. ben human uni agracimi. Se sungar a un acumi Si in la per sinacia. pro-resembly a science. Taying in the vertical is easy toward in que un vince terrain que mas devençorsadas de los pue efferende a propose la ventad de li prim ha más y acquirada en scientes à para de concerno, passiones de las lateigne de las esses lette la mesti. Je jek grunt is humanis. Ne pije te entendes ijue e. L. plants on an extension of the end of the property of the party of the como una morma que se ha de imponers en los asunos huma. nin es fes ic para a vava la trascensferica inference de la velde manifest con us provident elle une delle regionalismo que fine le pur pro mer sisco intrincia i primara de poestado se secucion de sa ma trud je storica por šetien meište s ramtorn posternos en trisore guer la massir a se proposta a risa historia, sia guer eni, massibali. er Service de um region in jour de nertie al aemps. En lote anountains Remarks a long constitution of the appropriating gold unglish function and very find it provides a support or many or many provides su unucalnes y en vin serve en represent prinque le les de séluci-& one ver indere a evidence ma nake present in this ign paint drum the de communication is the same de un monde de exisimen humana a otro

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fathermone aerocitations of accepts to universalities i discount of age vere facties genomentalises gue non regineralese poin tener vere factie. particular particular france to be seeding their receipt their genio general significación propositionarios el puedes de presentar altprocess. There proceeds on your new requires I have provide a regree gur din man dist ni hagan watr will in ma trasn ni gunta su beavar la femiliación enquicos de la teneupirencia de una mercigue resemble la hieragi control de la verio, de remenda pinder jus-Brain Eurge tive diservings burner quantities in degree . Que directly a sera das lera de guerrapiero nom a política e esta a deserva de como de como a for purples has programed as some matter transfere a fecturate more of gazen nicht wie eine gener ung versier wiede, ung gaze de ferreiben y fiversia pusteres, and en el sarema de liner am bazancia en el que largue fre la Montana, larg que request proces e requ aviete un justine finance qui prateria : es finap me agent figures : ten que su pen des amps austins matient, presenteurit a rigen cambiern gerbaner alge den virrer år herra der rinne se Europe en un augai que no es el ampo positio o que es tan in depressioner de pas fenerals andrejos de la gente, vieno de en la vivluntad del peor de los taranos.

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personners put a so relational to the fremulation species can make at tree-many's error deale is count nonthe fit is a first of any and interest for an authorized positivities endered and elementer the element to experience and the many published in agreement was prior in the safe require to a section succession of a private a great get metter from up et meterle. Sende una presigner la bérenera e no se sara le notique sa lumi se a serier grig une unter it some gag the still untracting the Mr. oft. the district about 4 spottings of a new little generality force. In the god oping subject to the latter of the public for the latter appeals to you will be a result through the property agency from a gargraft for entirengals glober is capital district your by stranger state The street of the company is that the street of the street may have not a the assessment of provinces of provinces in Might in the Plant. He was related that appropriate 2 is a supple to self the representation and the color of our permise gur are humbled and agrante attituting paying fatter advanta discovered and accounting paper or for our conthey are not to desire the first three to the section of the secti as a managery to an inter-structure of the same records for attings and the sign representative in the preference in the paper of the paper. with the mine where about it is and Richard for the contract of the looks by middled office and now to enter the bit their limits even in a her his fer manger of one for a gar specim intercepting it is him it in many material in the second control and an artist production of Charles by Branchestage, that Branches, using against the first treatment against a the set they be a selected as a settle-thing with the selection. In age on one musuals for over to previous space enough director pure source sense on regionary good to white our femine I is registrate princh registrate a relieur une haverene une germen that was been to as the property mercenes. And increases try ge upm de grat und demtal im Stadig ibn im debtad und feinem Welle the control of the co made set on a sale to strong high a set, on an execution of the set. may be to provide the coming for long the contraction and the contraction the security for the particular for consequent space on

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A female, on managing sery payment and approximation maps exis-Sente to may introduce your support, may end ten grown in use he there is no so see up. In his his produpon in high minigrand pagent. walter error page gaps we have been a spen as on succepting page. from our development of the service moreological for green for an an inchestral value? So you have how up to a week a parent identig an ringe a simple to service amount for sell payer to humanio impregnadi più e alai er fainiai, la tem que satisfying car for suggests grive on profess has object auguste veren so ago interegologia con company con dia fili for the special designation of the probe the gue recovered use the emonte bringing to band a felig his was misterry length have as years in a Propositing and graftian in integrationals for talgrantic Equipment in the contract of the con mat a montferrous offere on the excess government resourced. Deside of found in a fir on morning for experience on a section ones more region has a usu necessorates or una nacusainsa hi mana consumamount envertebre a community part year only most arrange of be at tracer or printing a turning hater and to ter man marriage que es e person le pa dere pu desagrape an le union amon en gun un hombres um obres feixer fa. La ser gun miranin loguing proper only only providers two hear ways where the first control control is not to the control of the contr hater only for our movely your real or upon species or opinion and himn revision and regular grantess in special trap regular and part felling. with the festival edge after upo ferrigo partiers appropriate inforcemen en ou legen, a leva setual est lada.

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tos hombes puedan actuar y que por consiguiente resulten manutieno, en el mundo, su contenido mismo se resiste a este rapo de verticación. Alguien que dice la verdad de hecho, en el improbable caso de que quisiera apostar su vida por un acontecimiemo particular cometeria una especie de error. Lo que quedaria manufesto en su acción sería su valor o quiza su tozudez, perono la verdad de lo que tenia que decir ni lampoco su propia exclubilidad. «Por que un mentiroso no ba a sostener sus memiras con gran valor sobre rodo en pola ica, donde puede estar motivado por el patriotismo o por otra case de regitima parcuidad de grupo?

4

Lo que defune a la verdad de hecho es que su opuesto no es el extor n la masión ni a opinión, elementos que no se reflejan en la vertodad persona, sino a tatsedad deliberada o mentira. Claro ent que exerror es posible, e incluso comun, con respec to a sa verdad de hecho, en cuyo caso este tipo de verdad no se diference de la verdad cientifica o de razón. Pero la cuestion es que contespecto a los hechos, existe otra alternativa, sa faisedad demerada que no pertenece a la misma especie de las proposiciones que acertadas o equivocadas, no pretenden mas que dete qué es una cosa para el sujeto o cómo se muestra esa cosa a el Un juicio objetivo - Alemania invadió Beigica en agosto de 1914 - adquiere amplicaciones pouncas sólo a sepone en un contexto interpretativo. Pero la proposición opuestal esa que Clemenceau, nun poco familianzado con el arte de volver i escribir la fustoria, consideraba absurda, no necesita contexto para tener significado político. Con toda carridad, se trata de un intento de cumbiar la crónica y como la les una forma de 🕬 Otro tanto ocurre cuando el talsano, que no puede hace, que su mentira se imponga, no insiste en la verdad evangelica de su juicio y pretende que se trata de su «opimón». que remadica basandose en su derecho constituciona. Con frecuencia hacen esto sos grupos subversivos, y en un público politicamente annaduro, la confusion resultante puede ser considerable. La atenuación de la anea divisións entre as verthe fir he has an equipment receive for the most high hierarch quarpour Millerature to Material Adoption of the State of the

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viciven a su antiguo estado de potencialidad— el campo politico queda privado no sólo de su fuerza estabilizadora principal sino tambien del punto de partida del cambio del que sir se para empezar algo nuevo. Lo que se inicia entonces es el constante moverse y revolverse en la esteriodad total, algo canticteristico de muchas de las nuevas naciones que tuvieron la maia suerte de nacer en la era de la propaganda.

Que los hechos no estan seguros en manos del poder es algo evidente, pero la cuestión esta en que el poder, por su nafuraleza misma, jamas puede producir un sustituto de la estabiadad firme de la realidad objetiva que por ser pasado ha crecido hasta una dimensión que está mas ada de nuestro alcance. Los bechos se afirman a si mismos por su terquedad, y su indoje tragil se suma, extrañamente, a su gran resistencia, ia. misma irreversibilidad que es el seno de toda acción humana. En su obstinación, los hechos son superiores al poder son menos transitorios que las formaciones de poder que surgen caundo tos hombres se reunen con un fin pero desaparecen tan pronto como ese fin se consigue o no se alcunza. Este caracter transitorio hace que el poder sea un instrumento poco habie para conseguir ana permanencia de cualquier cause y por esono sólo as verdad y tos hechos estan inseguros en sus manos sino tambien as no-verdad y los no-hechos. La actitud politicainte los hechos debe recorrer, por cierto, la estrecha senda que bay entre el peligro de considerarios como resultado de algun desarrollo necesario que los hombres no pueden evitar tanto no pueden hacer nada con respecto a ellos— y el peligro de ignorarios, de tratar de manipularlos y borrarlos del mundo.

5

En conclusión, vuelvo a los temas punteados al principio de estas reflexiones. La verdad, aunque impotente y siempre derrotada en un choque fronta, con los poderes establecidos, tiene una fuerza propia hagan lo que hagan, los que ejercen el poder son incapaces de descubrir o inventar un sustituto adecuado para ella. La persuasión y si violencia pueden destruar la verdad, pero no pueden reemplazaria. Y esto es valido para la

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flictivos, donde sólo cuentan et placer y el provecho el partidismo y et ansia de dominio. En resumen, traté la política como si yo también creyera que todos los asuntos públicos estan gobernados por el interés y el poder, que no existiria un campopolítico si no estuviéramos obligados a atender las necesidades de la vida. La causa de esta deformación es que la verdad de becho choca con la política sólo en ese nivel inferior de los asuntos humanos, tal como la verdad filosófica de Platón chocaba con la política en el mucho más alto nivel de la opinión y el acuerdo. Desde esta perspectiva, seguimos inconscientes del verdadero contenido de la vida política, de la alegría y la gratificación que nacen de estar en compañía de nuestros iguales, de actuar en conjunto y aparecer en público, de insertarnos en el mundo de palabra y obra, para adquarir y sustentar nuestra. identidad personal y para empezar algo nuevo por completo. Sin embargo 10 que aqui quiero demostrar es que, a pesar de su grandeza, toda esta esfera es limitada, que no abarca la tota lidad de la existencia del hombre y del mundo. Esta limitada por las cosas que los hombres no pueden cambiar según su vo-luntad. Sólo si respeta sus propias fronteras, ese campo donde tenemos libertad para actuar y para cambiar podra permanecer intacto, a la vez que conservara su integridad y mantendra sus promesas. En términos conceptuales, podemos llamar verdad a lo que no logramos cambiar, en términos metafóricos les el esparto en el gue estamos y el ciclo que se extrende sobre nuestras cabezas i

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I. LA TRADICIÓN Y LA ÉPOGA MODERNA

Les leyes, 775.

- 2 Para Engels, véase Anti Duhring Zürich. 934 p. 275 Para Nietzsche vense Murgemöte. Werte Munich 1954 vol. 1 at. 79
- 3 E. purco se lee en el emayo de Engels The Pari piayed by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man. El papel desempeñado por el trabajo en la cransición del mono al bombre en Marx y Engels, Selected Works, Loodres, 950, vol. II. p. 74. Para termulaciones subsistes del propio Marx vesse en especial «Die besige Familie» y «Nabonalókocomie und Philosophie» en jugendichriften. Stuttgart. 953.

4 Das Kapital, Zürsch, 1933, vol. III. p. 870.

Véane Gotzendámmerung ed K. Schlechta, Munich. vol. II. p. 963

6 Op. air Zürich. p 689

- 7 Me refrero aqui a que Heidegger descubiró que la pulabra griega aignifica interatmente «revelacion» à k\u00e4\u00e40ecc.
- 8 Op. zrit., Zürich, p. 689

9 Ibid. pp. 697-698.

- 10 La idea de que «ta caveros es comparable con el Hades» ambién está sugenda por F. M. Corobord en su craducción anotada de The Republic. Nueva York. 1956, p. 210. (Vesse La república, craducción de C. Eggers Lan, Gredos, Madrid. 1986).
- 11 Véase Jugenducbriften p. 274

IL EL CONCEPTO DE HISTORIA

Cicerón, Lar teyer. I. 7. El orador. II, 75. Heródoto, el primer historisdor no disponia sun de una parabra para la historica. Utilità el verbo cortopa o pero no eo el sentido de «narvación historica». Como el bisvos, «saber», el vocablo cortopa de volver» y originalmente tortopa signa cal «testigo ocultar». Por cinto, tortopa o tiene un doble ientados «dar testis nomio» e «moquici». Veise Max Pobleos. Herodot des ente Geseberbisschreiber des Abendlandes. Lespaig y Berlin, 937. p. 44. Un anti-lios reciente de Heródoto y de nuestro concepto de la historia se puede ver, en especial, en C. N. Cochrane. Christianity and Ciasnosi Culture. Nueva York. 944 cap. 2 uno de los textos mas estituilantes y de ma yor interés sobre este ceros. Su tesis fundamental. I hay que considerar a Heródoto miembro de la secuela jonia de talcsofía y seguador de Herácia.



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- A first househouse was and uniones probable 45 pg 1
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- 32 armates tibro a cap 3 cred de A Escohotado Edisore Nacional, Ma desa, 35 a p. 34
- 33 La demoracia en América. 2º parte, capitulo final, y 1º parte, «Entroducidos del autoro, respectivamente.
- 34 E. primero en ver a Kani como teórico de la Revolución Francisia nar Friedrich Genta en su «Nach ragirio des Rasonnement des fit yn Pyrot Kani coet das les haltens exalicaten Theorie uno a raises en Bertines Monatisatività dictembre de 1793.
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 - 1 teget on his winder a historia ameseriai Madrid, 1981
- 18 Nietzsche, Wille zur Macht, nüm. 291
- 19 Maerin feidegger serialo ser a vez este becho estraño durante un debate publico en Zurich publicado bajo el mulo Au-prache na Martin free degger am tr. frosennem 1912. Thorodruck unavvezag, Zurach 1912. Indicadruck unavvezag, Zurach 1912. Indicadruck unavvezag, Zurach 1912. Indicadruck unavvezag, Zurach 1912. Indicadruck una fresident sondern enn Himore un der Mitgischlen, das dons un man neuers im binne der De dahren und Automen der rederzen in geun sem Schne met gech so Des alt das authermisch Katsechette de sem untersomm seh tiefen auch micht und einem Zeites autzuheben sermiochen dass dieses Vertahnen in der modernem fragien in der modernem fragien und halt ihrmite.
- 40 Remer Heisenberg en publicaciones recientes, ourere esta misma idea, en diversas via accionis. Por ejempto, vesse. De Naturés d'al rémarges. Physite Hamburgo, 1936.

III. ¿QUÉ ES LA AUTORIDAD?

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- Z Solo um descripción y analima detarrados de la may original estructura organismica de los movimientos totalizarsos y de las iniciaciones de la gobierno totalizarso pueden puridicar es uno de la magen de la ceboua. Tengo que hai el una ceferencia a la apriluo sobre «La organización cotalizars» de ra labro The limpos de Totalizarsos es Z edición. Nueva York AM. La corgane des rocassasse esc. Tauma, Madrid. A 4.
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- 14 he analiza una amalgama similar de gromonieros de le prili nigilosporta inmana priameros en la grancia de Malaceta major y la primero a Primeros y especial. No la labora de miser que troa include aciente a describa a forga se antido de miser acuero frida. Regio se antido el concesión de desperso antido.

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Kleine Schriften, Munich, 1960, quien combién demuestra de modo convincente que ni Platón ni Cicerón siguieron las doctrinas pitagóricas.

- Eato esta subrayado en Marcus Dods en Forerwarers oj Dante Edunburgo.
 903
- 47 Véase Gorgies 524
- véase Gorgias 122/3 y Fedón, 10. En La república. 614 Platón inclusor alude a un relato que Ulises cuenta a Atrinoo.

49. La república. 3798

10 Como Werner Jaeger llamó al dios platónico en Theology o) the Ear y Greek Philosophers Oxford, 1947 p. 194n. La teologia de los primeros la tósofos graegos FCE México, 1982)

5D La república 61%

- 52 Viçase en especial, la Séptima cirta en cuanto a la convicción piatónica de que la verdad este más alla del habia y la argumentación.
- 13 John Adems, en «Discourses on Davila» en Works Boston, 1851, vol. vI. p. 280.
- 14 Desde es borcedor de Presimbulo hasta la Constitución de Massachusetts Works vo. IV 22:
- 55 John Stuart Mill. Sobre in tiberted cap 2 Alienza, Medicid, 1970.
- 56 E principe cap 17. Albembin, Medrid, 1987.
- 1 Ibid. cep. 8
- 53 Veinse expecialmente los Direursos, libro III, cap
- 59 Es nurioso comprobar que muy pocas veces en sus textos Maquiavelo nombra a Circeron, cuyas interpretaciones de la historia romana evita cuidadosamente.
- 60 De Re Publica, vI 12
- 61. Lanteyes 71 la
- 62 Estos criterios solo se pueden justificar por supuesto, con un detallado análisis de la Revolución Americana
- 60 Esprencipe cup 6

IV ¿QUÉ ES LA LIBERTAD?

- f Sigo a Max Planck «Causabded y obre albedrow (en The New Science, Nueva York. -979), porque los dos ensayos, escritos desde el punto de vieto dei científico, tienen una etegocia clásica en su supplicidad y ciacodad no simplificadoras.
- 2 fbsd
- 3 John Stuart Mill, Sobre la libertad, op. cit
- 4 Véase «De la ibertad» en Discorrai, libra IV a
- 5 13 Oa27 yes
- 6 Op. cit. 75
- 7 Rod 1.8
- 8 81 y 83
- Véase El espírito de las reyes. XII, 2 «La libertad filosófica consiste en

- el esercicio di la voluntati. La labertati politica consutte en la segundati.»
- 0 ntellecte apprehendo agriros entequam voluntas tilha velu, ted non apprehendu discretinase hos este agendum quod apprehendere discreti dista re- Oxon. V. 46. I mum. 10. La mente capta lo que se puede hocer an les de que a voluntad llegue a quere to, pero no capta con ciaridad que se debe hacer to que se disce que hay que captar.
- L. John Sturr Mill, op. of
- 12 Leibniz nie afinde v articula la tradición cristiana cuando escribe »Die Frage ob inserem Willen Freiheit zukommt bedeutet eigentlich nicht» an dem: als id-hm Willen zukommt. Die Ausdranke her und unitens geme » beugen dassetten sichnitten zur Mesaphysik. I. «Bemerkungen en den carenschen Prinzipien» Zu Artikel 19.
- Agustio, Confessiones, VIII. B.
- A menude excontramos este conflicto en Europides. Medies, notes de matur a sus hujos, dice. «Sé que males esto» a punto de cometes pero el Popos es más ruene que ma reflexion». 078 y sa Fedra. Pipos so, 176 y sa ha bia en térmicos semejantes. E nucleo de asunto es sempre que la razón, el ronoculturano, el discernamiento elcétera, son demassado débutes para zesseur e naño de deseo y puede que do ses accidentas que el conflicto estable en dialma de las mujeres, que estan menos anfluidas que los horobres por el jatoriamiento.
- 23 «En la merida en que la mente ordena, la mente desea, y en la medida en que la com ordenada no se cumpte no desea» como lo estancio Agustia en el famoso capitulo 9 de labro VIII de sua Contescone, donde crata sobre la volustad y su poder. Para Agustio es indiaciotible que «querer» y emandar » so la romas cola.
- 16 Agustin, ibir
- 12 Pinions IV 287 289-

wart S'emate

τουτ άναμάτατον καλά γενωσκόντ άνείγεα: Εκτός έχευν πόδα.

- 18 El esperito de las leyer, XII, 2 y XI 3
- 19 Agustin, ibid
- 20 *ibra*
- 21 Vennse las primeros cuntro capítulos del segundo labro del Contrato so car. Entre las modernos (corrects de la política. Car. Schmitt es el meior del ensor de la sidea de soberansa. Reconoce absertamente que la vaiz de la soberansa el la voluntada sobezano es el que desea y manda. Vense en es pecus su Versa magazetive. Munich, 1928, pp. 7 y ss. 146.

22 XII 20.

VL LA CRISIS EN LA CULTURA

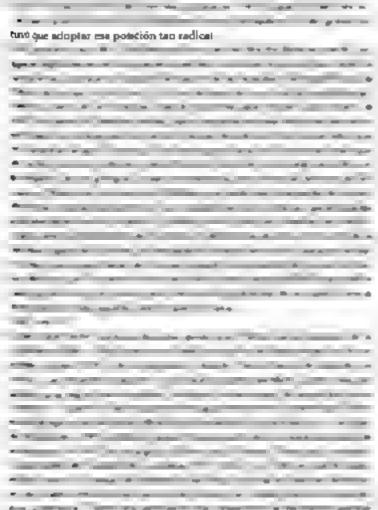
1 Harold Rosesberg en an emarco muy agentono «Pop Culture Kitach Criticium» on Ohe Tradition of the New Nurva York, 989

- 2 Véase Edward Shats, «Main Society and its l'ultime» en Devitals, prime vera de 1960 codo el namezo de la publicación se dedacó a la «Lultura de maias y los medios de comunicación de maias».
- Extendatos los he tomado de c. M. Young, Vaccoran England. Portrait of an Age, Noem York, 1994.
- 4 En cuando a alettrologia y el uso de la palabra en latin, ademas del Theorems Regime definar se pueden consultar. A. Warde Lacremscher El verocopiche. Winterbach. 918 v.A. Emous v.A. Menter. Dictromatre Estreto igique de la canque Latine. Historie del Mot. Paris. 912. Paris la bistoria de la palabra y de concepto desde la Antiquedad vesse Joseph Niedermans. Jainter Werden and Wandinagen de Begritte, and server. Estat integrité pon lacre. Estat integrité pon lacre. Estat integration. 1941 vol. 28.
- 2 Acerón, en Tascaranar absparatione 1.11 dece de manera empticita que la receste en como um campo que nada puede produciu sin un cultivo ade cuado y emonces at inta la Mara autem anima. Mujorcobra est.
- 6 La superencia es de Werner laeger en Autobe Berlan. Na Il vol. IV.
- Vême Mommsen, Historie de Rome E 14.
- 4. Venice campain coro de Antigore 1925 is
- Tocidades, II. 40.
- Cacerdo, op. cit. V 9
 Platón, Gorgies, 482
- 12 Kant. Critica des juecio 40
- ibid., Introducción, VII.
- 4 Azistoceses al entrencar delaberadamente la capacidad de discernamiento de hombre de Estado y la sabi-fama del alosofo É for recovergues, 6 es probable que, como lo biaso tantas veces en sua escratos politicos, saguiera la opinisón publica de la pólifa atenierase.
- 3 Kurst, op eit 6, 7, 8
- 6 Ibid. 19
- 7 En ruanto a la historia de la palabra y su noncepto, véase Niedermanni, op ini. Rudolt Pretter Hamanira: Eramiana Studien dei Bibliothek Warburg, num 22 91 y «Nachtragisches au flumanicas en Aleine Schriffer de Richard Hardei Munich. Vol. La palabra se lató para traducir el viciolido griego (el Aleinbeith di vocioriginalmente apticada a dio les y pobernantes y por consiguiente con connotaciones muy distintas. La hamanira: como la entersula luce fón, estaba estrechamente relaciona da con la aresqua virtud romana de la riementes y como la estaba también en nierta oprission respecto de la grandes formana. San duda em una calcaderistica del hombre culto, pero «viesto el asportante en nuestro contexto» la suportal que lo que desembocaba en la «hamanidad» era el estado de la era y la liceratura, enas que el de la culcad la
- Lecerón, ao or 1, 39 40 Supo in traducción de J. E. King, publicada en in Loeb's Chancal Library.
- 19 Caceron dace algo parecido en De teprimo 1 alaba a Anco Aciano en inteet criatro conservara maña indetan districtionam altam recretatem granetals cum hamanitares — reciva vida y discurso ma parece que bao alcanzado esa.



VII. VERDAD Y POLÍTICA

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- Levintáir, Conclusión, p. 732
- 7 The bederalist, minu 49
- Tratato teológico político, cup 20
- 10 The Faderalist man, 49
- 11 Timeo \$1D 12
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- Further to an extra publication of a Paramet market again and Park ambudge Manager State of 178 a sum p. 6

VOI LA PANIXISTA DEL ESPACIO Y LA ESTATURA DEL HOMBRE

Plantentan esta pregianta para un «Sampoiao sobre e especio» por fos editoris de areas area Tistas, 1961, con especial endias esta ascidencia que «la esploración del especio sene en la visión del hombre sobre si mai mo y atre la consalison humana. La pregianta no se retirer al hombre como centrar en la hombre como productor o consumidor, mos mas been al hombre como decima de como de como

- 2 Etice minimoguee, VI, cup. 7 1141120 y st.
- Max Planck, The I was the a gire of Modern Physics. 429. Cata to made de Great I dies Today, 1962. p. 494.
- 4 and per f. W. N. Suttevan, completions of toware. Mentor Books. 1949.
 p. 4.
- 5 Sense Salavan, Atomic Physics and Human Lucustedge Murva York, 978 p. 86.
- (b) ε μ 26
 Placet, εμ εὐ μ, 503
- 1 Vente Planck, science and claiment in wondres. 95, pp. 25-26. —
- 9 Toher Jahners en una artismus racios escrita en 296 ha unido aparecio esce articulo plantes es musico on gran sunidesa «¿Aarame tos Julmos años de Necho ruminos estilo en la elaboración de programas molematicos que permitera a los ordenadores molerar un omportamiento que cualquiera no tambian tendo on esos programas no vicularia en describer como estelagente unchaso muy interajente. Por ejempto Ales Bernareis CPO Mil programa que permire a una maquina jugar al ajedres a un nevel espectacularmente bueno. Nobre odo puede auja su sjedres mesor que Bernareis. Es un logro ampressionante pero orresponde a Bernareis y no a la méquina y Lina observacion de unorge como viesse nota. Omine llevo a equivocarme. Ne ambudo mil orresponde viesse nota. Omine llevo a equivocarme.
- 10 George Country This is a bornormano Technology to Great Arm To-Ary 1962, p. 207. La curriera et min.
- Seripe de Benedetti citado por Walter Sullivais, «Plivacal Sciences and Technologi»— en urear deal Tistes. You p. 98.
- 12. Bohi exbuginari në ni pp 10 kib impecovamente
- D. Planck op or pp. 493-3-75-3-4 respectivamente
- Bohr expulsions of oil pp 3 is "I respectivements.
- 3. abid p. 12.
- e Planck on our pp 30% v 30% respectivements
- * Nesse Bronounits science and Haman Saise: Mueva York 1936, p. 22
- 5 Neme The Jerry Mettenger traduction condition de Discouerzes and Optimizes of Galileo, Nueva York, 1957 p. 28
- ** Nesse A Estimate Reference The special and several Theory 1901 y 9 b catalogic security area (see Today 1901 pp 4% v 46% respectivements) to
- 20 Walter Sollivan, op. cit p. +89
- 2 is referred to 20u.

- 22 Cito del diálogo de Descartes La bistqueda de la verdad a través de la luz de sa naturalera, donde su posseción central en esta cuestión de duda resulta más evidente que en los Principios Vesse la edición de E. S. Haldane y G. R. T. Ross de las Philosophicas Works, Londres, 1931, vol. I. pp. 324 y 3-5.
- Debo esta definición e la carta de John Galmore, citada en la pota 9. Sun. embargo, Guinare no cree que esto imponga Smitaciones en el conocimiento. Creo que los propios juncios «populares» de Heisenberg me confurguo en este punto. Pero esto no es de nungún modo el fijo de la controversia Galmore como Denver Landley, cree que tra grandes cientíticos puedeo equivocarse cuando se creta de valorar en terminos filosóficos su propio ambajo. Guimore y Lundley me acusan de Lisar los juicios de los mentificos sun sentido crítico, como si ellos pudieran habiar acerca de las. coplicaciones de su crabajo con la roisma autoridad con la que habian de sus terms específicos. «Su conhanza en las grandes figuras de la comunidad cuentifica es curroovedoras, dice Gilmore.) Creo que esta argunentación es válida, ningún mentifico, por muy eminente que sea, puede recumpar para las emplicaciones filosóficase que él mismo a otro descubre. en su obra, o eo sus esevers cidnes sobre etta. Ia roistoa solidez qu'è fluede pedir pera los propios descubrimientos. La verdad filosófica, sea cual sea, no es la verdad científica, são duda. Con codo, es daticil creer que Planck. y Einstein, Niels Bohr-Schrödinger y Heisenberg, todos cilius perpiejus y muy preocupados por las consequencias e amplicaciones generales de su-Probajo de investigadores físicos, se sintieran sometidos a las desitusiones de sus propios desacuerdos.
- 24 En Phrimophic Problems of Nuclear Science Nueva York, 1952 p. 73
- 25 Ibid. p. 24
- 26 En The Physicist's Conception of Nature, Nueva York, 1958, p. 24
- 27 Ibid pp 18 19

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